
AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Affairs of Scotland.

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Impartial Account Of the AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND;

FROM

The Death of K. *James* the Fifth,
to the Tragical Exit of the Earl of
Murray, Regent of Scotland.

In Four BOOKS.

Wherein, besides other Material Passages of State not hitherto published, is the *Scotch* Embassy to Queen *Elizabeth*, to declare her Successor, with the Learned Arguments on that Head. Also some remarkable Instances that may give light into the Dependency of *Scotland* on the Crown of *England*. With an Extract of *Mary* Queen of *Scot*'s Letters to the Earl of *Bothwell*, plainly detecting the whole Design and Execution of her Husband's Murder.

Written by an Eminent Hand.

L O N D O N,

Printed for John Nutt near Stationers Hall, 1703.

44

SCOTT



To the Reader.

his Service to the Publick

to receive so excellent a

Treatise from the press

of dark Oblivion. The

PUBLISHERS

TO THE

READER.

deprived us of a further

THE ensuing Hi-

story accidentally

coming to our hands, we

thought it no unaccepta-

ble

Reader

To the Reader.

*ble Service to the Publick
to retrieve so excellent a
Treatise from the recess
of dark Oblivion. The
Learned and Ingenious
Author of this Work un-
fortunately left the World
not long after the Conclu-
sion of this History, and
deprived us of a further
Continuation of it. 'Tis
not difficult to guess by
the agreeable Smoothness
and Perspicuity of the
old Style,*

To the Reader.

*Style, the Significancy
and Choice of the Mat-
ters treated of, that it
must needs be done by
some very eminent Per-
son, that was not meanly
conversant in the Courts
and Affairs of both King-
doms, as appears by the
curious Scrutinies he has
made into their most re-
cluse Secrets and Poli-
cies. But We shall no lon-
ger injuriously detain the
Reader*

To the Reader.

*Reader at the Threshold
of so eminent a Stru-
cture ; but leave it to his
Candor , and its own
Worth to recommend it.*

Vale.

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(1)

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Affairs of SCOTLAND,

From the DEATH of

JAMES the Fifth,

Till the Death of the Earl of
Murray Regent of Scotland,
1571.

BOOK I.

JAMES, the Fifth of that Name,
King of Scotland, dying in the flower
of his Age, rather through Anguish
of Mind than Sickness of Body, a-
bout the 13th of December 1542. the Over-
throw

throw of his Army by the *Engliſh* at *Saloway Moſſe*, and other Diſtractions in his Kingdom, haſtning his End, left *Mary* his only Daughter and Heir by *Mary of Guiſe*, a Child of eight days old, to ſucceed him in the Throne, and the State in that condition, as ſome Ages paſt had not known it in a worſe; the principal part of the Nobility being either dead, or carried away Captive, or in Exile, all things generally out of order at home: And to add to this Calamity, a War abroad againſt a powerful King, who how he would uſe his late acquir'd Victory, was variously diſcours'd, the next Heir to the Crown being a Perſon not overſtockt with Parts, even to manage the Affairs of a private Life, much leſs was he fitted with Abilities to undergo the weightier Buſineſs of a Kingdom. Theſe Reaſons induc'd the *Cardinal Beton*, a man of an aspiring Temper, to ſet up for himſelf; and to that purpoſe he hires a mercenary Prieſt to forge a Will as from the late King, to eſtabliſh himſelf and three others Aſſociats with him in the chief Magiſtracy; and had cauſ'd a Proclamation to be iſſued out for the chooſing of the four Governours in purſuance of that pretended Will, in hopes to compleat his Deſign before the return of the Nobles, that were carry'd Priſoners to
London,

London, from the late Defeat at *Salloway*, that they might have no part in the Election, being jealous of their opposition. Mean while *Hamilton*, Head of the contrary Party, and next Heir to the Crown, tho' in his own disposition not forward to concern himself in matters of so high a moment, yet was daily attack'd by the earnest Solicitations of his Friends and those about him not to let slip an opportunity wherein he might gratify both himself and them.

While matters were transacted thus in *Scotland*, *HENRY VIII.* King of *England* having heard the news of the *Scotch* King's death, labours with the Prisoners that he had at *London* to make a Match between their young Queen and his Son *Edward*, after King of *England*; which he proposed as the likeliest way to establish a future lasting Amity and Peace between the two Kingdoms: To which they promised all the ready concurrence that might consist with their Integrity and Care of the publick Welfare of the Kingdom and their own private Honour, and were thereupon graciouſly dismiss home; with whom return'd the two *Douglasses* that had been in exile for the space of fifteen years. At *Newcastle* they gave Hostages to the Duke of *Norfolk* for true performance of their Promises, and came home in the beginning

of *January* in the Year 1543. and were entertain'd with an universal Welcome; whose return shorten'd the Cardinal's Reign: for his Cheat being presently discover'd, *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* was nominated Regent, by some, upon the account of his being next Heir to the Crown, hoping by that means to keep their Places; by others, to prevent the Cruelties they fear'd under the Cardinal's Administration, especially those of the Reformed Religion; and the rather in regard of the late King's Table-Book discover'd after his death, wherein they found to the number of three hundred Persons, and *Hamilton* amongst the rest, design'd to be brought in question; besides, that in regard he having imployed himself in reading Controversies in Religion, and retir'd from Court Employments, and being in his nature not ambitious, he gave great hopes of his inclination to Temperance and Moderation, the Magistrates having not yet found out his Weakness.

In *May* following the Convention of the States met, to whom the *English* Ambassador Sir *Ralph Sadler* apply'd himself in relation to the Marriage, and the publick Peace and Advantage that would thence arise to both Nations, and took occasion withal to remind the Prisoners of their Promises; which the Queen-Mother and

and Cardinal and all the Priesthood vigorously opposed, insomuch that the Cardinal was confin'd to his Chamber while the matter was in debate, after whose removal the business went smoothly forward concerning the Marriage, and Hostages were promis'd for the confirmation of it. The Cardinal getting afterwards at liberty by the Queen-Mother's means, threw all the blocks into the way that possibly he could to hinder the Accord, and was so successful, that instead of Hostages that were solemnly promis'd to the Ambassador, both his Person and Attendants were treated with Reproaches and Affronts by the Priests; which he quietly put up, resolving to give no occasion on his part that might hinder the delivering up of the Hostages, but patiently waited, till the day appointed for that purpose, on which he repaired to the Regent for satisfaction of the Affronts offer'd to him, and which did not so much reflect on himself as the King of *England*, and withal prest the delivery of the Hostages.

To the first he beg'd the Ambassador's pardon, and told him the King of *England* should see the respect and deference he bore him, in the punishment of the Offenders; but as to the Hostages, he said he knew not how to get them, even from those that

were consenting, much less could he compel those that refused; *for, says he, the Command I bear is of such a nature, as I receive more Law than I give.*

These Hostages being thus refus'd, he applies himself in the next place to the Prisoners to make good their Promises; but here he is again eluded by the Labours of the Cardinal and Priests, whose Logick had so far obtain'd upon those Gentlemen that had so little while ago promis'd their Assistance to the King of *England* in carrying on the Match, urging upon them, as an Argument, the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, which annuls all Contracts, Oaths or Promises made with Hereticks, that but one of them, to wit, *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Cassiles*, more mindful of his Honour and the Condition of his Brothers in Hostage, than of all those other specious Arguments, went up to *London*, and render'd himself according to Parole; which generous Act of his did so affect the King of *England*, that to shew the World what value he put on vertuous Actions, he did not only grant a free Release to the Earl and his two Brothers, but sent him home with honourable Rewards. But *Henry* was not more pleas'd with the Generosity of *Kennedy*, than he was incens'd against the rest of the whole Nation; insomuch
that

that he caus'd the *Scottish* Ships, which under a hope and prospect of a future Peace to be shortly concerted between the two Kingdoms, had been trafficking abroad, and in their return home put into his Harbours, to be seiz'd, and forthwith declar'd War, breathing revenge against the Violators of their own Covenants and the Law of Nations.

In this fickle and uncertain state the *Scottish* Kingdom stood, and yet so far were they from being mov'd with the remembrance of Kindred, Love of their Country, or regard of the publick Safety, that on the other hand the Coals of Sedition were blown up afresh : For the Faction of the Queen-Mother and Cardinals, which enclin'd wholly to the *French* Interest, sent over Expresses to acquaint that Court, that unless some speedy course were taken to prevent it, *Scotland* was upon the point to be given up into the *English* hands, and of what concern that would be to *France*, the experience of former Ages has sufficiently evinc'd : That in the first place they desire that *Mathew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, then in *France*, might be immediately sent home, as a proper Person to contract the *Hamiltons*, being not only an Emulator of their Greatness, but a profest Enemy to their whole Family, by reason of the Mur-

der of his Father at *Linlithgoe*. Besides, he was design'd Heir to the Crown by *James* the Fifth, in case he should die without Issue Male; and he purposed to have him so confirm'd by Parliament, who in *Scotland* have the last Resort in all things. Thus with the Flattery of Friends at home, and Promises of Assistance from the Court of *France*, with hopes of marrying the Queen-Mother, and Temptations to the Crown in case the young Queen should in any sort miscarry, comes over this young Gentleman big with expectations, and of a generous Mind, and not suspicious of any underhand Design; which *Hamilton* being aware of, the better to fortify himself against these Designs that seem'd to threaten him, he purposed to get the young Queen into his possession, who was then at *Linlithgoe* with her Mother; the report whereof coming to the Cardinals ear, he posted with all the Forces he could get to guard the young Queen from those Attempts. In the mean time comes *Lenox* over, and having paid his formal Visits to the Regent, went likewise to *Linlithgoe*, and told his Friends there what occasions brought him over, what Promises he had from *France*, the hopes he was put into of obtaining here not only the chief Magistracy, but the Marriage of the Queen-Mother

Mother too, to forward which he had Offers made him from the King of *France* both of Men and Mony; and being advis'd by his Friends to pursue the Fortune that lay so fair before him, he came accompanied with no less than four thousand of his Friends and Retainers to wait upon the Queen. *Hamilton*, who design'd to surprize the Queen, finding himself inferior in number and inclinable enough in his own disposition to Peace, a Treaty was propos'd wherein persons were appointed on both sides to settle the matter betwixt them; whereupon it was agreed that the Queen should be brought to *Starling*, and four of the first Estate that were of neither Faction should have the Education of her; viz. *William Grabme*, *John Airskin*, *John Lindsey* and *William Levistoun*, Men of great esteem, and Heads of considerable Familys, who having by consent of all Partys taken the Queen into their charge, went to *Starling*, while *Lenox* with his Men kept still in Arms 'till they were out of danger of the other Party; and shortly after the Ceremonies of her Coronation being perform'd according to Custom, she began her Reign on the 21st of *August* following. The Regent perceiving that he lost ground every day, endeavours to strike in with the Cardinal, and is at last prevail'd

vail'd withal to recant his Opinions in matters of Religion, and resign'd himself so totally to the Cardinal's disposal, that he seem'd only to retain the Shadow of Dominion, the Cardinal being possesst of of the Substance, who was got to be in effect as much as he would have made himself by his Forgery of the late King's Will. And now the Queen-Mother and Cardinal devise how they might fairly quit themselves of *Lenox*, whom the Queen resolv'd to hold in suspence of a Marriage, 'till they could procure Letters from *France* to recall him thither. Mean while the Court softens it self in Luxury and Wantonness, the Days being spent in Tournaments and the Nights in Dancing, where *Lenox* behav'd himself like a compleat Monsieur; and to stimulate him the more, he is rivall'd in his Addresses by *James Hepbourne* Earl of *Bothwell*, who having been banish'd by *James* the Fifth, after his death return'd again, and makes his Addresses to the Queen-Mother, but doubting of Success, retires from Court, and goes to his own House. *Lenox* finding himself at last to be circumvented and made a Property of, and his Enemy *Hamilton* advanc'd to Wealth and Authority, and to have a Power over all their Lives and Fortunes, spar'd not openly to declare

clare his Resentments, and in great heat remov'd to *Dunbarton*, uncertain what Course to steer, where he met with a Sum of 30000 Crowns remitted over to him from *France* to strengthen his Party with: And tho' he was order'd to take the Queen and Cardinal's directions in the disposing of it, yet he only sent some part of it to the Queen, and kept the rest himself, which gave so great offence to the Cardinal, who had devour'd it all in imagination, that he advis'd the Regent to draw what Forces he could raise to *Glasgow*, not doubting but to seize both *Lenox* and his Mony; which *Lenox* hearing of, got together to the number of 10000 of his Friends and Tennants, and others which came into him, through the indignation they had conceiv'd against the Regent, by reason he had without any consultation with them, betray'd both himself and them into the power of an implacable Enemy. The Cardinal finding that matters did not answer expectation, advis'd the Regent to protract the War; whereupon *Lenox* by advice of his Friends, who regarded chiefly their own private concern, was forc'd to an Agreement with the Regent, and went to him to *Edinburgh*, where forgetting past Offences, they continu'd together some days to settle their Affairs; but when they came
to

to *Linlithgoe Lenox* being inform'd of a secret Conspiracy against him, stole away by night to *Glasgow*, and so to *Dunbarton*. The *Hamilton* Faction having by several degenerate Practices render'd themselves and the Regent equally uneasy to the *English* and the *Grandees* of *Scotland*, gave occasion to *Henry* of *England* to require satisfaction not only for the violation of their Covenant, but also of the Law of Nations, which he first expostulates by Letters, but that way failing, he took himself to Arms.

Being resolv'd in the first place to take his revenge of *Edinburgh* and *Leith* for the Affronts those Towns had offer'd his Ambassadors, without much opposition the 14th of *May* possess himself of the latter, and in a few days infested the other with Fire and Sword, committing great Waste and Spoils in the other parts of the Country.

About this time *Lenox* received information, that King *Francis* was by the Calumnies of his Enemies alienated from him, who frequently insinuated to the King, that he was the only Person that hinder'd the good Accord, which otherwise would be amongst the *Scots*, by reason of the continual Feuds betwixt him and the Enemies of his Fathers House, and that if he was
remov'd

remov'd, a general Peace would follow: Of which when *Lenox* was inform'd, he to clear himself gives the *French* King an account of the State and Condition he found *Scotland* in, what pains himself and Friends had taken in setting both the Queens at liberty, having broken the Power of their Adversaries, and brought things out of great Troubles to a general quiet: Not that any thing could be more welcome to him than to return into *France*, where he had lived much longer than in *Scotland*, there to enjoy the Company of his dear Friends and old Acquaintance; but that as he did not come of his own accord, so neither since his coming over had he done any thing that either the King or himself had reason to repent of: That he did not doubt in case his Majesty would continue him in the Honour of his former Favours, but that he should in a short time not only equal but exceed the hopes conceived of him: but if he should be now recal'd in the midst of his Career, he should not only leave imperfect what he had so successfully begun, but he must likewise deliver up his Friends, his Neighbours and Dependants, whom he had engag'd in the publick Cause with him to their great charge and trouble, into Slavery and Ruin, at the pleasure of an imperious Tyrant, that

that as much as in him lay had sold both the Queen and Kingdom to their Enemies, and one that kept his Faith and Covenant with Men in the same manner he did his Worship unto God, which he had now changed thrice in a few years; neither was this to be admir'd at all in him, that look'd upon his Oaths and Promises not as the Bonds of Faith, but Subterfuges for his Treachery: That he would beseech his Majesty to consider who was most to be trusted in so great an Affair, him whose Ancestors had imploy'd themselves, their Wealth and Honours to the advancement of his Greatness, and who had so many Favours and Benefits confer'd upon them, not so much in reward of their Labours, as in acknowledgment of their Merits; or to a man that upon every air of rumour or report changes both Friends and Enemies, and has his sole dependance upon Fortune.

This, tho' most knew to be true, yet the *French* King wholly sequestred by the *Guises* the Queen-Mother's Father and Uncle, who had so harden'd his Heart, and and stop't his Ears to the Supplications of *Lenox*, that he would not so much as grant an Audience to *John Cambel*, a Man of known Integrity, whom he had sent to attend that Court, nor admit him to his Presence,

Presence, but kept him under a kind of Confinement, commanding him not to acquaint his Friends with any Counsel then under consideration in the Court of *France*: But however there wanted not those that did it, which when *Lenox* heard of, he was divided betwixt Shame and Anger; Shame to forsake the business at halves, but much more his Friends and Neighbours, whose Fortunes he had drawn under his Rifco, and whom he conceiv'd nothing but his own Death could give a satisfaction to; Anger against the Queen-Mother and Cardinal, whose perfidious dealing had reduc'd him to these Streights: But most of all he complain'd of the *French* King, that when he had brought him on the Stage, should leave him thus in the pursuit of his good Fortune, and join with his Enemies.

In this distress of Counsel and Distraction of mind, news is brought him, that all the Inhabitants of the Lowlands, that could bear Arms, were commanded to rendezvous at *Starling*, where the Regent having form'd an Army out of them, marches strait to *Glasgow*, where the Castle is in a few days delivered up to him. In the mean time *Lenox* finding he was deserted by the *French*, resolves to throw himself upon *England*, having first inquir'd how that
King

King stood affected, where all things succeeding to his Wish, he resolved before his departure to take an angry leave of his Enemies, and with about 800 men meets them near *Glasgow*, where after a sharp Fight, Recruits coming into the Regent; alter'd the Fortune of the Day, which by this means began to turn against *Lenox*; so that being forsaken by the *French* and greater part of the *Scots*, tho' his Friends perswaded him to make a little stay in *Dunbarton* Castle 'till the face of Affairs were changed, which they doubted not but in a little time would come to pass, he sets sail for *England* with a small Retinue, where he was honourably receiv'd by the King, who besides his other Kindness and Munificence bestow'd upon him, married him to *Margaret Douglass*, that was Sister to the last King *James*, which his Mother the King of *England*'s Sister had by her second Husband the Earl of *Angus*, a Lady in the prime of her Youth, and of excellent Beauty and Disposition.

In *Scotland* at the next Convention held at *Linlithgoe*, *Lenox* and his Party were all condemn'd, and their Estates forfeited, which some redeem'd with great Sums of Mony, not without great envy and offence of the better sort.

In this time the *English* enter'd *Scotland* with an Army, and put all to Fire and Sword; the Regent prepared to make head against them, and by the advice and direction of the Queen-Mother and Cardinal, all Estates are ordered to attend the Regent, who when he had got his Army together, whether apprehensive of the Approaches of an Army from *Berwick*, then said to be upon their march, or fearing his own People would deliver him up to the *English*, fled to *Dunbar* as fast as his Horse could carry him. The General being run away, the Army was strait dispers'd and defeated, every man providing for his own security, and left their Ordnance behind, which some advis'd to burst rather than leave them to the Enemy, which *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* singly oppos'd, and with what Forces he could get together march'd in the Reer of the Ordnance, and in spite of what the Enemies Horse could do to hinder him, brought them safe off to *Dunbar*.

This Victory had so exalted the *English*, that now they thought nothing could stand before them; insomuch that Sir *Ralph Evers* and Sir *Bryan Layton* made afresh Inroad into *March*, *Tiviot* and *Landier*, compelling the Inhabitants to yield, and wasting and spoiling the Lands of all such as refus'd. But this

Success of the *English* was again abated by a greater loss which they sustained near *Ancram*, where 200 besides Officers were slain, amongst whom were several Men of Quality, and near 1000 taken Prisoners, whereof about 80 Gentlemen.

This Victory was the more welcome in that it came unexpected, the benefit whereof redounded to the Regent, tho' the Honour ought to be ascribed to the *Douglasses* for the good Advices and Direction in the management of that Affair.

About this time a Conflict happen'd by the contrivance, as was suppos'd, of *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*, wherein the whole Family of the *Fraziers* was in a manner extinguish'd. There had been an antient Feud betwixt them and the *Reynoldses*, which had often cost Blood on both sides; and *Huntley* boiling with inward spite that amongst the Neighbourhood they alone slighted his dependance: For when the Island Neighbours had gather'd what force they could against the Earl of *Argile*, there was scarce any within their District but what came in to him; but the business being compos'd without an Engagement, when they were parted from him and returning home another way, the *Reynoldses* having notice of it, gather'd all their Clang together, and gave them a furious Charge:
The

The *Fraizers* being fewer, were overcome by the others greater numbers, and slain every man; so that numerous Stock which had often well deserv'd of *Scotland*, had been absolutely lost, had it not happen'd, as we may guess, by Divine Providence, that the Chiefs of that Family had left fourscore of their Wives with child at home, that brought every one a Son which liv'd to Man's estate.

About the same time the King of *England* received an account of the routing his Army in *Scotland*, and the Regent sends an Ambassador into *France* to acquaint them with his Victory, to require Aid against the Demands and Threats of the King of *England*, and to accuse *Lenox* and reproach his leaving of *Scotland*. For aid, a small Detachment is sent over, in regard of the King of *England's* Designs upon *France*, not sufficient to repel the *English* Incursions, but only to give them some amusement on that hand, lest he should fall in with all his Forces into *France*. As concerning *Lenox*, the King thought fit to send over into *Scotland*, there to enquire of the Crimes objected against him; which Province was confer'd on *James Montgomery Count de Lorges*, with the general Command of all the *French* Auxiliaries in *Scotland*.

In July 1545. *Montgomery* lands in *Scotland*;
C 2

land; whereupon shewing the *French* Letters, and imparting the King of *France's* Pleasure to the Council, an Army was agreed on to be raised, tho' at that time to little effect; for after some small Incursions into the *English* Marshes, they retired into Quarters, and *Montgomery* to the Court at *Sterling*, where tho' he was a profest Enemy to *Lenox*, yet he rebuk'd the Cardinal, that without any known Injury offered to him, should be so envious as in a manner to compel an innocent Gentleman to render himself unwillingly into the Enemies hands. The beginning of the Winter *Montgomery* returned into *France*, and the Cardinal under pretence of strengthening those Parts that were shaken with Sedition, goes in progress with the Regent through the neighbouring Provinces: And first they came to *Perth*, where four Men are severely punish'd for eating Flesh of a Fasting-day, and a Woman lately brought to bed, because she refused to implore the help of the Virgin *Mary* in her pains, was put to death together with her Child. And now their Minds are bent on the general Concern, from thence they go to *Dundee*, where they gave out that they will punish all those that should read the New Testament, which was accounted a Crime of the first magnitude: and so great was the Blindness

of those times, that most of the Priests being scandaliz'd at the word New, would have that Book to be written by *Martin Luther*, and insisted upon having the Old Testament. The Cardinal, after he had, as he thought, sufficiently visited *Angus*, brought the Regent in the midst of Winter to *St. Andrews*, to oblige him, if possible, yet more closely to him; for tho' he had his Son in Hostage, yet was he still apprehensive of the fickle Mind of the Regent; and the rather when he considered the Fierceness of the *Scottish* Nobility, the Strength of the contrary Faction, and the uncertain Disposition of the Regent. There having got some time of leisure, and the spending the Christmas time in Sports and Wantonness, having carest him with Gifts and Promises, and discours'd him about the Affairs of the Kingdom, he went something better satisfied to *Edinburgh*, where there was a Convocation of the Clergy held, in which they had several Debates touching the Preservation of the antient Liberties of the Church, and punishing the Exorbitances of the Clergy; which coming to no issue, at last they are informed of one *George Wiseheart*, a Preacher of the Gospel, and highly valu'd by the People, that liv'd with a Nobleman, one *John Cockburne*, about seven miles off,

to whom Messengers are straitway sent to demand the Criminal, which *Cockburne* delaying all he could, in hopes of an opportunity to send him privately away, the Cardinal in a stormy Night comes with the Regent, and stops all the Avenues ; but could do nothing either by Flatteries, Promises or Threats, 'till the Earl of *Bothwell* called out of his House hard by, came thither : He being the greatest Man in *Lothian*, at last prevailed that *George* should be delivered up to him, having first engag'd his Faith to secure him from all injury and harm. The Priests being thus possess'd of their desired Prey, carried him from *Edinburgh* to *St. Andrews*, where in a General Assembly of the Clergy, his Process, under a specious shew of Justice, was in a little time drawn up, and he by an universal Suffrage condemn'd of Heresy : Whereupon the Cardinal, who could not by the Pontifical Laws determine in Capital Matters, writes to the Regent to appoint a Criminal Judge to try him, which had been straitway granted by him, but for *David Hamilton* Lord of *Preston*, that with Praying, Threatning, and at last with downright Chiding held him off, speaking to him, as they say, to this effect : That he wonder'd much that the Regent would suffer such a Licence to be taken against the

Servants

Servants of God, whose only Crime was the preaching of the Laws of Jesus Christ ; and that he should give up Innocents, whose Integrity of Life their Enemies must unwillingly acknowledge, to the barbarous and savage Cruelty of their Persecutors : That to him their Doctrine was not unknown, as unto which himself was formerly addicted, and which did chiefly recommend him to that high Estate, and to which he had testify'd his adherence in publick Edicts, and had exhorted so many to the Reading, Understanding and Practice of it in their Lives and Manners. Think with your self, says he, what will be the Thoughts and Discourses of the World concerning you : Consider the Benefits confer'd upon you from above, a King taken hastily away that was of so fierce a disposition, and your Enemy, while he was treading the same Paths that you are now pursuing : They whose rash Counsels drove him into the Precipice, are now endeavouring to ruin you. At first they withstood you with the utmost of their power, and now would cheat you by their evil Counsel. Call to mind your Conquest over your own Countrymen without Blood or Slaughter, and over your Enemies, tho' in greater numbers, to your own Glory

and their Reproach : Remember for whom you abandon God, and fight against your Friends : Arise therefore in time, and disperse these Clouds that wicked men endeavour to involve you in : Set *Saul* the King of *Israel* before your eyes, who from an abject Quality was advanc'd unto the Throne : How much did God indulge him while he kept himself obedient to his Laws, and how many Miseries did he meet with when he neglected his Commands ? Compare the Success of your Affairs until this day with the Prosperity of his, and unless you change your Counsels, expect no better, nay a much worse Issue : For what did he design like unto that which you are now upon, and this too in favour of those execrable Men, that are so little able to cover their Offences, that they do not so much as endeavour to dissemble them.

The Regent mov'd with these and other friendly Admonitions, writes back to the Cardinal not to proceed to Judgment, but to reserve the matter intire'till his coming, nor did he purpose then to consent to his Death before the matter should be thoroughly discust : That if the Cardinal would do otherwise, let the blame lie at his own door ; and that he would keep himself innocent

nocent from the poor Man's Murder. At receipt whereof the Cardinal was much enraged, and reply'd, that his writing to the Regent was not that he wanted any of his Power, but that for the better shew of having the publick Consent, he should have subscrib'd to his Condemnation: and therefore the Cardinal proceeds in the Trial of the Prisoner, who being brought forth, *John Wirname*, a learned Man, and one that privately favour'd the Cause of the Reformed, was commanded to preach: After which *George* is haled to a Pew erected for that purpose in the Church, and one *Lowder* a Popish Priest gets up into another placed over against him, the rest standing by as Judges of the Controversy: But there was little Form of Judgment or Freedom of Debate; for when the Opposer had loaded *Wiseheart* with all the Reproaches usually cast on the Professors of the purer Doctrine, the Prisoner was remanded back into the Castle, and put into the Governour's Chamber, where he spent the greatest part of the Night in Prayer. The next morning the Bishops sent two *Franciscans* to him, to let him know that he must die, and that they were come to confess him, if he so thought fit: But he told them he would have nothing to do with their Fraternity; but if they would oblige him, they might do

do it better in procuring him the Learned Man that preached before him yesterday. *Wirname* having leave from the Bishops to go to him, after some Discourse, during which he was not able to refrain from Tears, he ask'd him if he would receive the Sacrament; who answer'd, Most willingly, in case I may receive it according to my Saviour's Institution under both Elements of Bread and Wine. *Wirname* returning to the Bishops, acquainted 'em with the Prisoner's solemn Profession of his Innocence of the Crimes objected to him, and that he was not so fearful of Death, as desirous to manifest his Innocence to the World, which was already known to God Almighty. To which the Cardinal reply'd in rage, We have long known what manner of man you are; and when he askt him about giving him the Sacrament, having confer'd a little with the other Bishops, he told him, they were all of opinion, that an obstinate Heretick, as he was adjudg'd to be by the Church, ought not to receive any benefit from the Church; which being told him, the Governour's Family going to breakfast about nine a clock in the Morning, they ask'd *Wifeheart* if he would take part with them, who said with all his heart, and much more willingly than I have done formerly, in regard I take you for good Men and Conso-

ciats

ciats with me in the same myſtical Body of our Bleſſed Lord, and that I alſo underſtand this muſt be my laſt repaſt on Earth: And turning to the Governour, he ſaid, I do beſeech you in the Name of God, and by the Love you bear unto his Bleſſed Son our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, that you will ſit a while with patience and hear my Exhortation to you, and Prayer upon the Bread, which as Brothers in Chriſt we are about to eat, and give you then my Vale-diction. Mean while the Cloth being laid according to Cuſtom, and the Bread ſet on, *Wiſeheart* began a ſhort and pithy Diſcourſe about the Lord's Supper, together with his Death and Torments he endured, which laſted about half an hour; admoniſhing them chiefly, that laying aſide Wrath, Envy and Malice, their Hearts ſhould be fill'd with Love to one another, that they might be perfect Members of Chriſt, who daily mediates with the Father, that our Sacrifice here may purchaſe us eternal Life hereafter. When he had thus ſaid, and given thanks to God, he broke the Bread, and gave a ſmall Piece to every one, and likewiſe of the Wine, when he had drank himſelf, and prayed them all to be Partakers with him in this his laſt Celebration of the Memory of Chriſt's Death exhibited in that Sacrament; and
that

that a more bitter Portion was prepared for him, for no other reason but his preaching the Gospel. After which having finish'd his Thanksgiving, he retired into his Chamber, and there made an end of his Prayer. Not long after came in two of his Executioners sent from the Cardinal, one of which put him on a black Coat made of Linnen Cloth, and the other fastened several Bags of Gunpowder to all parts of his Body. Thus clothed they led him into the Governour's outward Room, and there bid him stay. In the mean time a Scaffold is erected in the middle of the Court before the Castle, and Wood piled round about it; over against it the Windows and Towers were hung with Tapestry and Silken Carpets and Cushions, whence the Cardinal and his Company might lie at ease and take their prospect of the Torments of this innocent Man; and by being Authors of so famous a piece of Wickedness, ingratiate themselves the better with the People. Now is *Wiseheart* led out with Sound of Trumpet to his Execution, and goes up upon the Scaffold, where he is ty'd to take a Stake, and scarce had the time to offer his Prayers for the Church before the Executioners gave fire, and surrounded him with Flames and Smoke.

The Governour of the Castle, who stood
so

so near that he was scorch'd with the Flames, advis'd him to be of good courage, and pray to Heaven for pardon of his Sins. To whom he answer'd thus: *This Flame indeed brings Anguish to my Body, but cannot discompose my Mind; but he that looks down so proudly from yon Eminence upon us, shall shortly lie in the same place with as much Ignominy as now he sits with Arrogance.* This said, his Chaps were presently drawn together with a Cord, that straitway stop't his Breath, and his Body soon after was consum'd to Ashes. This Fact render'd the Cardinal so endear'd to the Clergy, that they extoll'd him to the Skies, that despising the Authority of the Regent, durst when others were remiss, become himself the sole Author of so brave an Action. This, tho' it pleas'd the Clergy, yet did not take so well with the Laity, especially those of the better sort, who disdaining the Insolence of the Clergy, spared not in publick Discourses to inveigh against them; and that now some speedy and bold Act must be attempted, or all things suffer'd with perpetual Shame: That in short they must rid themselves of the Cardinal by some means or other, and they must either resolve to regain their Liberty, or lose their Lives: For what hope could there be of any Preferment under one that
 was

was both an insolent Priest and barbarous Tyrant, that having undertaken a War against God and Man, made Sacrifice not only of his Enemies, that is to say, all Men of Wealth and Piety, but any else that gave him the least Offence? And tho' in publick he stirs up Wars both foreign and domestick, in private he couples the Product of his Lusts in Marriages, and dissolves at Pleasure others that are lawfully contracted: At home wantons with his Harlots, and abroad rages in the Blood and Slaughter of the Innocent.

The Cardinal now suspecting his own Strength, endeavour'd to support it by Alliances, and to that purpose takes a Journey into *Angus*, and there marries his eldest Daughter to the Son of the Earl of *Crawford*, making a sumptuous and princely Wedding. In the mean time having intelligence of Preparations in *England* for a Naval War, which seem'd chiefly to threaten *Fife*, he returned to *St. Andrews*, summon'd the Gentry of the Maritime Parts, and resolved to take a Progress himself, and view all Places fit for fortifying. But now the Prediction of *Wiseheart* is coming to be verified; for a Quarrel happening between him and *Norman Leslye*, Son to the Earl of *Roths*, who had formerly done the Cardinal considerable Service, upon a difference
betwixt

betwixt them about a private matter, they began to look cold upon one another: But *Norman* upon fair Promises let fall the business, 'till after some months reminding the Cardinal of making good his word to him, they grew to high words, and at last to such Language as was very unsuitable to both their Qualities, and parted in a great huff. The Cardinal incensed to be treated with so little Reverence, and the other to be circumvented in his Designs, unable to brook an Injury, went home to his Friends, and acquainted them with the Cardinal's intolerable Arrogance, who all conspire to murder him. The manner was thus: *Norman*, accompany'd only with five Persons, came into *St. Andrews*, and went to his accustomed Inn, the better to avoid suspicion: There were ten more of the Plot in Town, some in one place and some in another, that waited for the Signal to fall on. With this small Party did he adventure up-
 so great and dangerous an Attempt, in a Town full of the Cardinal's own Neighbours and Tennants. At that time of the Year the Days were very long, being about the beginning of *May*; and the Cardinal was fortifying his Castle in such haste, that he kept his Men at work most part of the Night. In the morning therefore when the Gates were opened to let the Workmen
 in,

in, *Norman* had placed two of his Company in a little House hard by to seize upon the Porters, and make themselves Masters of the Gate, and thereupon to give the Signal to the rest; which was performed accordingly, and they all let in without any Noise or Tumult. Four of the Company were sent to the Cardinals Door, that no Messenger might get to him; others went about the rest of the Lodgings, and being acquainted both with the Places and Persons, called them all up by their Names, who being but half awake, were threaten'd with present Death if they offered to make any noise, and carried out of the Castle without any harm at all: So when they were all put out, and themselves left Masters of the Castle, those that stood Centry at the Cardinal's Door, at last began to knock, and being asked who they were, they told their Names, and being let in (on promise, as some say, not to do him any harm) they fell upon him, and with many Wounds sent him into the other World.

By this time the Report of the Castle's being surpriz'd, was spread about the Town, and the Cardinal's Friends, heavy with Sleep and Wine, took the Alarm, and hasten'd to the Castle, and call'd for Ladders, and took other Necessaries with them

them, in order to a Storm ; which they in the Castle perceiving, to abate their Fury cry'd out unto them, that they made all this bustle to no purpose, to relieve a Man that was already dead, and therewith expos'd his Body to the view of them all, in the same place where he a little before had been a joyful Spectator of the Death of *Wifeheart*. This brought into their minds the great Instability of worldly Matters with their unimagi'd Issue ; but the Prediction of *Wifeheart* sunk deep with many, which confirm'd their Belief of several other Matters, which that holy Man had in a prophetick manner foretold, as were manifested by their Events.

This Sight gave no little Consternation to the Cardinal's Party, and the Fact occasion'd several Opinions and Discourses according as Men were variously inclin'd, some esteeming it a praise-worthy, others looking on it as a nefarious Act : Many who were of a different Persuasion in matters of Religion being in fear of their lives of him ; others offended with him for his insufferable Pride, not only approv'd the Fact, but came to congratulate the Actors, as Authors of the publick Liberty ; and some came over to them with their Lives and Fortunes. The Court most dejected at it, having in a manner lost their chief Sup-

port and Counsel, by consent of those that were then got together, sent a Summons to the Authors of the Murder, to appear within a week, and give in security at a Day to be then limited, to stand to their Trial and abide the Law: But they being possess'd of a strong Castle, with the Cardinal's Mony and Household Goods, and the Regent's eldest Son left, as we said before, in hostage with the Cardinal, not daring to trust the Promises of those whose Infidelity was so notorious, would not admit of any Parly, and were thereupon proscribed: So that by this means, partly by threatening and airy Promises of the one side, and partly by Distrust on the other, the Matter was prolonged from *May* 'till *November*; but then the Regent, mov'd by the earnest Importunity of the Queen-Mother, and the bitter Execrations of the Clergy, at last took up Arms and batter'd the Castle for three months together, and the fourth drew off his Forces *re infecta*, in the deep of Winter, and came to the Convention formerly appointed to meet in *February* next at *Edinburgh*. The Garrison being freed from their Besiegers, not only made several Inroads into the adjacent Country, wasting all with Fire and Sword, but took the Souldier's Liberty, that has nothing to controul his vitious Inclination, spending
their

their time in Whoredoms, Adulteries and other Wickedness, which men in Ease and Idleness are prone to ; nor could *John Knox*, who was then come to them, by his frequent Admonitions and sober Counsel, put any restraint to their abominable Actions.

To add to this domestick Evil, a foreign Army comes from *England*, and having past the *Solway*, spread their Terror far and near, which *Robert Maxwell*, upon whom the War sat heaviest, came to *Edinburgh* to complain of ; and to induce them to a speedier Aid, acquainted them, that the Country was so harass'd, and reduc'd to such a desperate Condition, that unless Supplies were suddenly sent to them, they must be forced to give themselves up unto the *Englisb*. To him they promise Aid, for the recovery of his Losses: The Regent marching his Army that way, encamps at the River of *Megarus*, whither the Friends and Favourers of the Cardinal came and importun'd him to bring *George Leslye* Father of *Norman*, who was at that time with him, to a Trial. The Earl, notwithstanding his disadvantage both of Time and Place, did not in the least desire to put the Matter off ; but upon hearing of the Pannel read, accepted against none of his Jury, and was by all their Suffrages acquitted.

In the mean time they are called back from retaking the Holds posselt by the *English*, by the arrival of the *French* Fleet, consisting of one and twenty Sail under the Command of *Strozzi*, upon consult with whom it was agreed to lay close Siege to the Castle of *St. Andrews*, which was done with such speed and success, that they brought the Besieged to offer themselves up to *Strozzi*, upon promise of Safety, which they fear'd they could not have from the Regent: *Strozzi* thereupon sends his own Men in, who found plenty of Provision, besides the Cardinal's Mony and Household-stuff, together with the Goods of the Besieged and several others of the City, sent thither for safeguard, where they also found the Regent's Son, as we said before; all which were seized, and the Castle by Order of the Council demolish'd, and *Strozzi* embarked with his Prisoners. These Occurrences fell out in the Year 1547.

This Year came Forces out of *England* both by Land and Sea, to require satisfaction of the *Scotch* for their breach of Promises, which they had made four years before, to marry their young Queen to the King of *England*'s Son, who were met by the *Scots* near the Mouth of *Eske*, where altho' the *English* did by Letters desire an amicable

amicable Composure of their Differences, telling them that the performance of their Promise touching the Marriage with *England*, would be of more advantage to the *Scots* than to them, urging several other Reasons for a good Understanding betwixt the two Kingdoms. The Letters were brought to the Regent, which he communicated to his Brother the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, whom he had taken into the Cardinal's room, *George Abbot of Dumferling*, *Archibald Beton*, and *Hugh Ridge* a Lawyer, one more famous for his Bulk of Body than Abilities in War. These four had got the sole guidance of the Regent, and being puffed up with imaginary hopes of Victory, prevail'd with him to suppress the Letters, lest they might work a Reconciliation, and so hasten'd their own Destruction in a Battle fought the 13th of *September*, where an entire Victory happen'd to the *English*, to the great disconsolation of the Regent and his Advisers. The News whereof coming to the Queen-Mother, tho' she made some outward shew of Sorrow, yet inwardly she was not so much grieved, to see the *Hamiltons* brought under, having ever since the Cardinal's death affected the Regency her self, and had had several private Consults about the Matter with those whom she knew to

be least inclinable to the Regent's Interest.

The young Queen, by the general consent of the Nobility, was carried to *Dunbarton* under the Custody of *John Aireskin* and *William Levistoun*, the first a Favourite of the Queen-Mother, the latter of the Regent, whilst the Affairs of *Scotland* were under further consideration; in which consult Ambassadors are ordered over into *Frante* to require Aid of *K. Henry* against the Common Enemy, giving hopes of the Queen's coming shortly over to be marry'd to the *Dauphin*. The *French* being not so forward in performance as in promise, gave the *English* opportunity to enter *Scotland* at both the Borders, and the Earl of *Lenox*, invited by his Friends, came that Winter to *Dumfrize*, being promis'd by *Angus* and *Glencarne*, the first his Father-in-law, and the other his old Friend, 2000 Horse and a proportionable number of Foot, in case he would leave the *English* and come over to them; which upon his coming to the Place appointed were dwindled into scarce 300, and those too Men that liv'd chiefly upon Spoil and Robbery, which together with the uncertainty of *Maxwell*, another of those that call'd him in, made him suspect he was betray'd: He therefore kept *Glencarne* and *Maxwell* and

and several other of his principal Inviters with him, and sent out a Party of about 600 *English* and *Scotch* to infest the County of *Galloway*, which they did with that Success, that they brought the greatest part of the Country under the Subjection of the *English*.

The Regent in the mean time, not to seem idle, besieges *Brock* Castle, where having lain three months to no effect, draws away his Forces, leaving *James Haliburton* with 100 Horse to cut off their Forage, and to keep that and another Hold the *English* had hard by in some amusement. This happen'd in the latter end of the Year 1547.

The next Year the *English* fortify'd *Haddington*, and made great Spoils in the Parts adjacent, and *Lenox* in the end of *February* discovering the Treachery design'd against him, returned with his Hostages to *Carlisle*, and there took revenge of *Maxwell*, who was a chief Actor in the Design against him, and some others that the King of *England* by Letters gave him notice of. *Henry*, that succeeded his Father in the Crown of *France*, sent over about this time 6000 men, three whereof were *Germans* commanded by the *Rhinegrave*, 2000 *French*, and about 1000 Horse of other Countries, all under the Command of the

Count *d'Esse*, a Man of great repute in Arms amongst the *French*, who landing at *Leith*, were ordered to make some stay at *Edinburgh* to refresh themselves. The Regent with the Forces he had with him laid Siege to *Haddington*, and blockt it up, and issuing out a Proclamation, gather'd up about 8000 *Scots*, where the Nobility being met, they began to consult afresh of transporting the Queen into *France* to be married to the *Dauphin*. This Council was assembled in the Monastery hard by *Haddington* within their own Lines, where the Matter was variously debated, some alledging this parting with their Queen would bring a perpetual War with *England*, and enslave them unto *France*: That as well for the sake of Religion, as the present conjuncture of Affairs, the Terms of Friendship offer'd by the *English* were not to be rejected, especially that of a ten Years Peace, which was not hard at all upon the *Scots*, in regard the Conditions were, that if the King of *England* or their Queen should happen to die within that time, both Parties were again at liberty. These, and several other Arguments then used, prov'd ineffectual; for the Papists and Pensioners of *France*, among the latter of which the Regent himself was reckon'd, being promis'd a Pension of

12000 Franks, and the Command of 100 Men at Arms, carry'd it clear for the Queen's going over, and so the Fleet that came to carry her away, and lay at *Leith*, pretending to depart, sail'd about to *Dunbarton*, and there took her in, accompany'd with her Brother *James* and her two Governours, and after a sharp storm at Sea, landed her at last in *Bretagne*, from whence she was by easy Journies brought unto the Court. During the Siege of *Haddington*, several other Places were attack'd by the *English*, and as vigorously defended by the *Scots*, many Skirmishes and Conflicts happening betwixt 'em, wherein the *English* for the most part sustained the greatest loss; yet notwithstanding they laid hold of an opportunity of relieving *Haddington* both with Men, Arms and other Necessaries. Whilst Matters pass thus at *Haddington*, News is brought of an *English* Army coming to raise the Siege; upon which *d'Esse* removed a little farther from the Town, and sent away the Artillery, excepting a few Field-pieces, to *Edinburgh*: And so the *English* raised the Siege, which was again attempted by *d'Esse*, but without effect, and after that little of moment was perform'd by the *French*; so that the King of *France* being informed by Letters from the Regent and Queen

Queen-Mother, that *D'Esse* had put them to great charge with light and fruitless Expeditions, and that he was become a greater burden to his Friends than his Enemies, especially since the late Sedition at *Edinburgh*, where the *French* had slain the Provost and his Son and some other Citizens, because they did oppose their coming to quarter upon them with all their Forces, and that the Insolency of the *French* grew insupportable, *D'Esse* was remanded, and Monsieur *de Termes*, a prudent Man and a great Souldier, sent into *Scotland* with Recruits. *D'Esse* in the mean time endeavour'd to repair his Honour by retaking the Island of *Keith*, lately taken by the *English*, wherein he was successful, having slain most of the Commanders and brought the rest to a condition. With this Attempt he took his leave of the *Scottish* Affairs, and delivered up his Army to *De Termes*, who likewise attempted the Siege of *Haddington*, but without effect, 'till at length the *English* that were in it having wasted the Country round about, and no Forrage or Provision to be had but what must come far off and with much difficulty, tho' the Garrison consisted of brave men, yet *England* at that time labouring under intestine Troubles, and engag'd in a foreign War with *France*, being by this means destitute

of

of hopes of any relief from thence, they fir'd the Town, and march'd away for *England* of their own accord about the beginning of *October 1550*.

Landersconce was likewise brought to that distress that, being destitute of all relief, they were upon the point of yielding up, when news came of a Peace betwixt the *English* and *French*; which being proclaim'd in *May* following, the *French* Forces were dismiss and sent away home in their own Fleet. This Peace as to foreign Hostility lasted about three Years; but at home had worse effects than the severest War: For this gave leisure to the Regent and his Brother the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* to exercise their Cruelty and Avarice, the Arch-Bishop, as tho' he had a Licence to do evil, seeking only to gratify his own sensual Appetite. The first Prognostick of their future Tyranny was the unrevenged Death of *William Creiton*, a Man of good account, who was slain in the Regent's own House, and not far from his Presence, by *Robert Semple*, and the Murderer protected by the Intercession of his Daughter, that was one of the Arch-Bishop's Misses, that he had seduc'd from her Husband, who was his Neighbour, and a Man of Quality, and kept her as his own Wife; a Woman more famous for her
Wanton-

Wantonness than her Beauty or other Qualifications.

Next follow'd the Death of *John Melvil* a Nobleman of *Fife*, and one that had been much in the late King's esteem. Some Letters, it seems, which he had sent to an *English* Gentleman, in favour of a Friend of his that was then his Prisoner, were intercepted, and tho' there was no dangerous matter in them, yet they cost the poor Gentleman his Head, his Estate proving his greatest Crime, which was bestow'd upon *David* youngest Son to the Regent. Tho' the Damages sustained by these enormous Acts reach'd but to few, yet their consequence was dangerous to all; and the Regent's Mismanagement and Supinity lessen'd him daily in the People's esteem, especially since the Death of *Wiseheart*, most Men looking upon the Calamities that follow'd, as a just Judgment upon the Nation for it, and more particularly those who were not only Witnesses of his Moderation of Life and Purity of Doctrine, but many more persuaded by the Truth of his Predictions, believ'd him endu'd with a Prophetick Spirit.

The Business of the Justice-Courts gave yet a farther confirmation of their irregular Actions, which under pretence of punishing

ing Offenders, made Fish of all that came to the Net, as well innocent as nocent, and great Sums of Mony were extorted from both sorts, not so much in proportion to their Crimes as their Abilities to pay. Those of the Reformed Religion had their share of his Cruelty and Avarice, altho' himself had formerly profest it; nor had they then a Cardinal, whose Name might give pretence to such Proceedings, nor was the Mony more shamefully extorted in the Regent's Name, than profusely squander'd away by his Brother's Lust.

Matters being now compos'd at home, the Queen-Mother design'd a Voyage into *France*, as well to visit her Daughter and Friends there, as to get the Regency confirm'd upon her, which she conceiv'd to be a Matter of no very great difficulty, considering the Regents Circumstances; to which end she apply'd her self to the Court of *France*, where having acquainted the King with the Affairs of *Scotland*, she at last discover'd her Desires of the Regency, which by the prevalency of her Brothers in that Court, she easily obtains. To further it the King of *France* gives great Rewards, and greater Promises, to the Noblemen that waited on her over, and dealt with *Carnegy*, an Intimate of the Regents, to use his Interest with him to resign, who is
sent

sent over to that purpose, and after him *David Painter* Bishop of *Rosse*, the *Scotch* Resident in that Court comes over to use his Persuasions to the same effect, who at last, tho' with some difficulty, wrought him to it. At length the Queen, being pretty sure of her Business, comes home by the way of *England* after above a twelve months stay in *France*, having first had a Project for bringing the *Scots* under the Servitude of *France*, to which she took *d' Oissel*, a Man of great Abilities, Ambassador along with her, whose Advice she was to make use of in all her Affairs. At her return she applied her self to the Nobility, and made them her own, and at last attempted on the Regent, by those that were intimate with him, for his voluntary Resignation, which he after some persuasion seemed willing to consent to, upon these Conditions: That what Goods soever he had got of the late King's, the *French* King should relinquish to him, and save him harmless from all Accounts relating to his Guardianship, upon his Oath to restore what was unimbezeld, which Promise he fell short of too; when upon taking *Hamilton* Castle twelve Years after, many Things were found and seiz'd, that made his Perjury appear. Great Gifts are likewise bestow'd upon him, with Title of
Duke

Duke of *Castle-herald*, a Town in *Poictou* situate upon the *Vienne*, with an Annuity of 12000 Livers a year, part whereof was paid for some years; and withal, that in case the Queen died without Children, he should be declared next Heir to the Crown.

These Matters thus agreed on, were sent over into *France* to receive their confirmation there by the Queen and her Guardians, whom she had by her Mother's direction made choice of; which were *Henry* the 2d King of *France*, *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, and *Charles* his Brother Cardinal of *Lorrain*. The Regent, altho' he had promised to relinquish, yet when he found his Power drawing towards an end, he began to think the case hard to be confin'd to a private Life, and was according to his custom wavering in his Resolutions; which the Queen perceiving, she retires to *Sterling*, seeming to wait with patience 'till his time would be expir'd, and let him take his own course; for his Reign was to continue but 'till her Daughter was twelve years old, which she did not then want much of, not failing in the mean time to draw over all the Nobility she could, both by Rewards and Promises, which she was so successful in, that she had in a little time secur'd all of the first Estate but two, which were *John* Bastard - Brother to
the

the Regent, and *Levisfoun* his Kinsman:

This falling off of the Nobility from the Regent brought him at last to accept of the former Proposals with this condition, that the Queen should engage to have them confirm'd by the three Estates in the next Parliament, and by the Guardians in *France*. About this time the Affairs of *England* were much interrupted by the Death of K. *Edward VI.* a Prince of great expectation for his natural Inclination to all kind of Vertue, and the Improvements he had already made in Learning.

In the beginning of the next Spring the Nobility assembl'd at *Sterling*, where the Agreement of the Matters before transacted with the Regent is produc'd in open Council, sign'd by the Queen and her Guardians, with this addition, that the Castle of *Dunbarton* should be confer'd upon him.

To perfect this a Parliament was summon'd to meet at *Edinburgh* the 10th day of *April* then next following, where the Articles agreed to by the Guardians are brought forth, which being read, the Regent rising up renounced his Authority, and deliver'd up the Royal Ensigns to *d' Oissel*: He received them in the name of the absent Queen, and by command from her deliver'd them over to the Queen-Mother;

Mother, who receiv'd them with the Assent of the whole Convention, and taking the Regents Place, is carry'd in state thro' the City to the Palace, and the Regent that had made his Entry thither, with the Sword, the Crown and Scepter born before him, and a great Concourse of the Nobility behind him, retires himself to his former Rank, and mixes with the Crowd.

This Shew was of the first Impression to the *Scots* to behold a Woman by consent of the Council advanc'd to the chief Helm of Government; yet for all this inclination to the *French* the *Scots* would not be brought to put the Castle of *Edinburgh* into the hands of Strangers, for fear that if the Queen should die without Children, the *French* might make some ill Advantage of it for the reducing *Scotland* to their Subjection. That Place was therefore caution'd in the hands of *John Aireskin*, not to be given up to any without a Decree of all the States in Parliament. After this the publick Business being in a manner settled, the Regent (for so we now must call her) sends out *Gordon* Earl of *Huntley* to take *Murdoch* Head of the *Reynoldses* Clang, a famous Robber that had done great Mischiefs; but *Gordon* was not thought to behave himself with that Fidelity as was expected, but came back *re infecta*, and was

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and to keep him Prisoner 'till he yielded up his Right and Claim to *Murray*, his Imposts in *Marre* and the *Orcades*, and some other Places, and such other Regalities as they thought fit to strip him of. He was upon these Conditions dismiss'd, and afterwards had the good fortune to make his Peace so well at Court, that he was admitted into the Cabinet Council, and all Offices of Profit, as his Competitors gave out, were by his Advice confer'd upon Strangers, on purpose, as 'tis thought, to set the Regent at variance with the *Scottish* Nobility, the better to delight himself in their mutual Distractions.

Matters were now at quiet 'till the Month of *July* 1555. and the Regent having got a breathing Time from Wars, set her Mind upon ordering the publick State of the Kingdom. To that purpose she orders publick Sessions to be kept in the accustomed Places, and with great severity punish'd the Disturbers of the publick Peace, and sent *J. Steward* Earl of *Athol* against *Murderac*, to repair the defect of *Gordon* in the former Expedition, which he did effectually, bringing the Offender with his Children and Family to the Regent; but he, whether impatient to be idle, or conscious of his Guilt, escaping out of Prison, fills all anew with Blood and

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Slaughter. This compel'd the Regent to go and make use of her judicial Power both against him and others sooner than she intended. Returning thence, she in publick Convention restored several of Cardinal *Beton's* Murderers, that were popular Men, who had been banish'd by the last Regent. These Acts got her not more Credit than a Project for a new Tribute did Ill-will, which was generally thought to be contriv'd by *d' Oissel* and the little *French* Tribe about her. The Business was, to have a publick Register of all Estates, and every man to pay yearly such a proportion into the Treasury, to be consign'd for that purpose towards the Charge of War, that from hence a stipendiary Force might be raised for guarding of the Borders, and the Nobility sit at home in quiet, unless it happen that the Enemy pour in a greater Force than could be withstood by these ordinary Guards. This was fiercely oppos'd by the inferior sort of People, the Nobility being a little more reserv'd, and not so forward to cross the Regent's Design: The Commons no less incens'd against the Nobles for betraying their publick Liberties by their Silence, than they were with the Regent, met at *Edinburgh* to the number of 300, and deputed two of their Body to attend the Regent, to cry out, not only
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against the Shame of paying such a Tribute, but against the Register too, which was in effect to discover the publick and private Poverty of the Nation. This was managed with that strength of Argument, as convinc'd the Regent of the unreasonableness of such a Proceeding, who fearing a Tumult in case she went on with it, let the matter fall, and acknowledging her Error, was often heard to say, it was not her doings, but some principal Persons of the *Scottish* Nation had the chief hand in that Advice, which most conceiv'd she meant by *Huntley*, who was lately come into favour; others laid the blame on *David Painter* Bishop of *Rosse*, a Person of great Learning and acquir'd Parts, and much inclin'd in favour to the *Hamiltons*, from whom he had received several Obligations.

The next Year while the *Scots* Ambassadors are treating for Peace at *Carlisle*, the Regent is prest by Letters from *France* to declare War against the *English*, because the Queen of *England* had sent over Forces into *Flanders* to assist her Husband, then King of *Spain*, in his Wars against the *French*. The Regent, upon the return of the Ambassadors from *England*, in a dubious state betwixt Peace and War, assembled the Nobility at *New-Battle-Abby*, and there required them to make War upon *England*;

and when she found them unwilling to be the first Aggressors, she order'd, by the advice of *d'Oissel*, a Fort to be built at the mouth of *Ayre*, under pretence to repel the Incurfions of the *Engliff*; but they had another end in it, as knowing the *Engliff* would not suffer a Fort to be built so near *Berwick*, and consequently engag'd them to the first Aggression. The Event proved accordingly: For the *Scots* wearied with daily Injuries, at last are forced to agree to a War, and recalling back their Ambassadors that were sent to make a Peace with *England*, a Proclamation iffuing out to that purpose, they assemble in great numbers at *Edinburgh*: But before any thing was concluded of in Council, when the Army was lying near *Maxwell Craig*, some Persons desiring to gratify the Regent's Humour, made Depredations about *Wark Castle* in the *Engliff* Borders, *d' Oissel* having carried thither some *French* Colours and as many Guns as were needful to assault that Castle, without any Order of Council, sends them over the River of *Tweed*; which Act of his did highly incense the *Scottiff* Nobility, to have a Stranger attempt a Business of that Import; which being complain'd of in Council, they resolv'd not to suffer their Forces to be drawn out against an Enemy at the will and pleasure

sure of any private Person, when in cases of that nature the Commands of their lawful Kings have not been obeyed 'till Matters were first agreed upon in the Council: That this lookt like an Essay upon them, how they would submit to Arbitrary Power; and thereupon *d'Oissel* is commanded to bring away the Artillery, upon pain of High Treason if he do refuse. These Proceedings seem'd hard to the Queen and *d'Oissel*, the one suffering a diminution in her Person, and the other in his Character, being Ambassador to the *French* King; but being inferiour in Force, they were fain to temporize, and found there was no other Remedy but to get the young Queen (who was now of Age for it) to be married to the *Dauphin*, which would be a means to lessen the Power of the Council, when they should find her under the conduct and disposal of a Husband.

In *December* following a Parliament was indicted at *Edinburgh* to hear the Letters read, that were come from the *French* King, wherein after a long Commemoration of antient Leagues and mutual Offices of Friendship, he desired the Parliament of *Scotland*, consisting of the three Estates, that in regard his Son the *Dauphin* would about *December* next be of Age to marry, they would send him over Ambassadors

with full Authority to consummate the Marriage in a manner already begun (for it was in hopes and prospect of this that the Queen of *Scots* was sent over into *France*) whereby they might as in one Body unite two Nations that had been so long confederate, and knit together the Goodwill and Affections of two remote People in a Knot never to be unty'd; which if they will consent to, he gives them an assurance of all the Friendship and Affection imaginable. This haste of the *French*, tho' all understood where it pointed, and that the *Scots* foresaw they must shortly come to have a Dispute for their Liberties, yet notwithstanding all readily come in: There were, without any contradiction, eight Ambassadors ordered into *France* to consummate the Marriage; three for the Lords Temporal, viz. *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Cassiles*, *George Lesley* Earl of *Rothes*, to whom was added *James Fleming* Laird of *Cumbernald*: Three for the Ecclesiasticks, viz. *James Beton* Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Robert Read* Bishop of *Orcades*, and *James Stewart* Prior of *St. Andrews*, the Queen's Brother: and two for the Commons, viz. *John Seaton* Provoist of *Edinburgh*, and *John Aireskin* of *Dun*, Provoist of *Montrosse*, who after a sharp Storm at Sea, that drove them several ways, wherein two of their Ships were

were wrackt upon the Coast of *Bulloigne*, that carry'd the Earl of *Rothel* and Bishop of *Orcades*, who were fortunately saved in their Long-Boat, they met all safe at last, and went together to the Court. There the Treaty of Marriage was straitway set on foot, which was readily agreed to on all hands, the *Guises* speeding it all they could in the absence of *Momorancy*, who was then a Prisoner, and who they judg'd the likeliest Person to give stop to their Proceedings, and who were not themselves a little envied for having got into their hands the chiefest Offices of State, both Military and Civil. After the Marriage was now solemnized, and the Ceremonies over, that the Court began to come to it self again, the *Scotch* Ambassadors were called into the Council, where the Chancellor of *France* labour'd with them to undertake the point of the Crown and Ensigns Royal, that their Queen's Husband might, according to Custom, be created King of *Scotland*. To which the Ambassadors reply'd, that they had not any thing of that nature given them in charge. We do not, says the Chancellor again, ask any thing of you for the present, but what is in your power to grant; that is, when this Affair shall come into debate among your States in Parliament, you will as far as
your

your Votes can effect it, approve that Honour to us which we claim, and give it us for the present under your Hands. Which Request, as they conceiv'd it highly insolent, so they thought it fit to be rejected with a little more than ordinary Obstinacy; and therefore answered, that their Embassy was confin'd to certain Limits, which they neither could nor would exceed: That if they had had a full Authority to treat at large, yet surely it did ill suit with the Friendship they made shew of, to demand those things which could not be granted without the infamous Reproach of Treason, tho' Death were not in the case: That they would gratify the *French* in this Conjunction with any thing that Friends might honourably yield to; and therefore pray'd, that they would likewise on their part confine their Requests within the like bounds of Modesty.

Thereupon the Ambassadors were dismissed from Court, and tho' afterwards they hasten'd homewards all they could, yet before they came a-ship-board, four of the principal of them, *viz.* the Earls of *Cassles* and *Rothes*, *Robert Reed* and *James Fleming*, Men of great Vertue and Love to their Country, with many others of their Company died suddenly, not without manifest suspicion of Poison: and *James*
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the Queen's Brother was believ'd to be in the like condition; for tho by the Strength of his Constitution and Vigour of his Youth, he escap'd Death, yet he had a dangerous Distemper in his Bowels all his Life-time after.

Several Excursions and Depredations were this Summer made by both sides in the Borders, without any considerable Achievement on either part, more than the taking of *William Keith*, Son to the Earl Marshal, and *Patrick Grey*, a considerable Person, Prisoners by the *English*; which was retaliated in the defeat of Sir *John Clare*, who was sent with a Fleet by the *English* to rove upon the *Scottish* Coast, who landing some Men in the *Orcades* with a design to fire the Town of *Cracovia*, their Ships were by a sudden Storm forc'd off to Sea, and return'd home for *England*, leaving their Men behind, who were all cut off by the Inhabitants.

These two last Years the business of Religion had some respite; the one Party (having past over the Death of *Wiseheart*) contenting themselves with the Liberty of serving God in their own Tongue, and to reason soberly of Holy Things amongst themselves; the other, by the Death of the Cardinal, seeming rather to want a Leader, than Will to be revenged: For he that succeeded

ceeded him chose rather to punish their Purfes than their Persons, nor was he very violent in that, but meerly to support his Sensuality. In the Month of *April* one *Walter Mills*, a Priest, of little Learning, yet suspected by the Clergy, because he had forborn to say Mass, was fetch'd into their Courts, who, upon his being question'd, made such a Defence, that his very Enemies were amaz'd at it: And the Citizens of *St. Andrews* did so highly resent the thing, that no Man could be found to sit as Judge upon him, nor could Materials be got in all the Town for his Execution, which prolong'd his Life for one Day. But the next Day they pick'd up a flagitious Fellow, one *Alexander Somervill*, a Servant of the Arch-Bishop's, who for that day took upon himself the Office of Judge Criminal, and condemn'd him. His Death was so resented by the People, that in memory of him a great heap of Stones was piled up in the Place where his Body was burnt; which tho' the Priests order'd to be spread abroad, yet the next Day the Heap appear'd again, 'till at last it was born away by the Papists to some Houses that were a building in the Town. The 20th of *July* a Day was set by the Bishops for *Paul Me-fain*, a Man of Quality, and a Preacher of the Word; but that Day a great Con-
course

course of the Nobility appearing, infomuch that there were some Apprehensions of a Mutiny, the Judgment was defer'd to another time, and many that absented were condemn'd; but not to terrify them with the Sharpness of the Proceeding against them, they are order'd to appear the first of *September*, and Pardon promis'd to such as should recant their Errors. The Feast of *St. Giles* falling on the same Day, whom the *Edinburghers* reverenc'd as their Tutelar Saint, and us'd to have great Doings on that Day, the Regent, for fear of some Disorder, would be present there her self, and was at the Procession; but it seems after she was retired to her Lodgings, the Apprentices took occasion to pluck the Saint off from the Shoulders of those who carry'd him, and roll'd him in the Dirt, and overthrew the Pageantry: The Priests and Friars betaking them to their Heels in such an Affright, as made the Tumult appear much greater than it was; but when they found they were more scar'd than hurt, and that there was no Blood drawn in the Business, they crept out of their Holes, and met together to consider what was to be done: And tho' they saw no likelihood of regaining their former Port, yet however they resolved to set the best face they could upon the Matter; and to discourage their

their Adversaries, they summon a Convention at *Edinburgh* upon the 8th of *November*.

When the Day was come, the Convocation sitting at the *Dominicans* did personally cite *Paul Mesain*, who was order'd to appear at the last Convocation: and now being absent, is sentenc'd to be banished, and great Penalties laid upon all such as should in any kind relieve him, which yet could not terrify those of *Dundee* from affording him whatever he stood in need of, entertaining him from one House to another, and applying themselves to the Regent by their Friends in Court for remitting of the Sentence; but the Priests on the other hand supplying by Money what they wanted in Interest, nothing could be done. But now several of the Nobility of *Fife* and *Angus*, with the chief Inhabitants of divers other Towns and Places, did send about exhorting all that were Lovers of the sincere Preaching of the Word, not to suffer their Fellow-Members to be thus oppressed by the lesser Number: If their Adversaries would contest with them by Law, they were superior that way to them, and if by Force, they were at least their Matches there; and in fine, do propose an Association for their mutual Defence: And here they first took upon themselves the
 Title

Title of the Congregation, which those that succeeded them made so famous after.

And now the Associators foreseeing that Matters would come shortly to a push, resolv'd upon an Address to be presented to the Regent by the hands of Sir *James Saundlands* of *Calder*, wherein they humbly requested to have the publick Prayers in the Administration of the Sacraments in the vulgar Language, that it might be the better understood by the Common People, and that the Choice of Ministers might according to the antient Custom of the Church, be in the People: That those that presided in such Elections should examine strictly into the Life and Doctrine of the Ministry: That if by Negligence of former Times, either ignorant or vitious Persons had crept into Preferments, they might be remov'd by the Ministers of the Church, and others put into their rooms. At this the Priesthood was inrag'd, that any Man durst be so insolent as publickly to own so bold a thing; but at last after they were a little cool, they offer'd to submit the Matter to a fair Dispute, as knowing themselves must then be their own Judges in the Case: The other Party insisting that a Business of this concern ought not to be decided by the Suffrages of Men, but by the Holy Scriptures. The Priests then offer'd other Conditions,

ditions, but so ridiculous, as they did not deserve an Answer; which were, that if the Reformed would keep up the antient Honour of the Mass, admit of Purgatory, Worshipping of Saints, and Prayers for the Dead, they would allow them the Service of the Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the Vulgar Tongue. The other side rejecting this with scorn, press the Regent for an Answer to their Address, which they humbly hop'd would be agreeable to Equity and Reason. The Regent, altho' she inclin'd in Favour to the Priests, gave them private Assurance of her Assistance, when there should be a proper Time for it; yet she gave the other Party leave to say their Prayers and administer the Sacraments to the People in the Vulgar Tongue, and use their other Rites, so it were not in a tumultuous manner: Only their Ministers were not to preach in publick to the People at *Leith* and *Edinburgh*.

This tho' they punctually perform'd, yet they had broad Signs of the Regent's ill Opinion of them; and the Papists of *Edinburgh*, who had the same Proposals sent them, returned their Answer to the like effect, only adding, that as to the Choice of the Ministry, in Questions of that kind they were to abide by the Cannon Law, or the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*:

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Nor did they do any great Matters in the Convocation, more than to enjoin the Bishops to send private Informers into all their Diocesses, to give them an Account of such as transgress the Popish Laws; and tho' they plainly saw their Menaces but little regarded, yet having the Government on their side, and backt with the *French* Forces, they insulted over their Inferiors as much as ever. To pacify their Anger, and persuade them to a milder Usage of the Preachers of the Gospel, *John Aireskin* of *Dun*, a learned and sober Gentleman, is sent to them, who humbly prays 'em by the Duty they owe to God, and the common Charity they owe to Men, that they would not be offended with the People, when they met to pray; that they worship'd God in their own Language. But so far were they from granting this Request, that they doubled their hard and reproachful Language upon them, and threaten'd them more than ever: And lest they should be thought to have done nothing in this Assembly, they order'd some old Canons that were worn out of date, to be reprinted and fixt upon all the Church-Doors, which, after the Price they were sold at, the People call'd the three-half-penny Faith.

And now the Ambassadors, who were sent last Year into *France*, come into the

Convention, to give an Account of their Proceedings, which was readily approv'd of: and next the *French* Ambassador was call'd in, who made a florid Harangue to the States of his Master's great Kindness to the *Scottish* Nation, and was very solicitous with them all to confer the Honour of the Crown upon their young Queen's Husband; from whence, he said, no fresh Emolument, no new Power would accrue, but the bare Usage of the Title: Which at last, with many fair Speeches and large Promises, he obtain'd an Act for; and the Earl of *Argile*, and *James* the Queen's Brother, are deputed to carry it over. They conceiving themselves to be sent of a fatal Errand, the *French* Ambition hanging like a Storm over their Heads, delay'd their Journey all they could, in hopes of giving some nearer guess at the Event of Things; especially since a more illustrious Title, and nearer hand, seem'd to offer it self by the Death of *Mary* Queen of *England*, whom the *Scotch* Queen pretended to be Heir to, and to that purpose had already assum'd the Title and Arms of *England*.

And now the Regent having got an Act of Parliament for the Matrimonial Crown, began to alter her Looks and Carriage, and to put on a more imperious Countenance: For whereas heretofore she us'd, upon application

plication of either Party to her, to excuse her self to them that she could not answer their Desires, laying the blame chiefly upon the Times; having now got all things in her power, she took other Methods, and us'd another kind of Language; and was heard often to give out, that she would not endure to have the Supreme Majesty diminish'd, but that she would take occasion by some notable Example to restore it to its former Veneration; by which they perceived a Storm a-coming, which to divert, *Alexander Cunningham* Earl of *Glen-carne* and *Hugh Carnel* Sheriff of *Aire*, are sent as humble Supplicants to the Regent; but she not being able to contain her self, told them in a haughty manner, That let them and their Ministry do what they could, their Preachers should all be banish'd, tho' they preached better than *St. Paul*: And upon their further Supplication, That she would be mindful of her Promises so often made to them; she reply'd, that Promises of Princes are not to be performed otherwise than as they suit to their Advantage. To which they answered, That then they thought themselves as free to renounce their Obedience to her, and so desired her to consider what this would come to in the Issue. Which Answer did a little startle her, insomuch

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that

that she told 'em somewhat more mildly, she would consider of it. But her Wrath was kindled afresh, when she heard that the Town of *Perth* had received the Gospel; and ordered *Patrick Ruven*, the Provost of that Town, then present, to suppress these Stirs about Religion: Who telling her his Power extended only to their Persons and Estates, but he had no Authority over their Minds; she reply'd in great heat, You may, Sir, come to repent you of your Sauciness. She then sent Orders to *James Hallibarton*, Provost of *Dundee*, to seize upon *Paul Mefaine*, and send him to her; but he having notice from the Provost, retired out of Town. She wrote likewise to the other Assemblies thereabout, That she would have the next *Easter* celebrated in the *Roman* Manner; but herein she was likewise disobeyed, at which she was so enraged, that she summon'd all the Ministers of all the Churches in that Kingdom to appear at *Sterling* the 10th Day of *May* next following, to make answer to what should be then objected against them; who coming up according to Summons, were attended with that Multitude of Profelites, that, tho' they came unarm'd, the Regent was in fear of them, and spoke to *John Aireskin* of *Dun*, a Man of Authority among them, to dismiss them

home

home, and promis'd, that in the interim there should be no Prosecution against any of the rest; whereupon several went back again: Yet, notwithstanding her Promise, those that did not answer to their Names at the Time appointed, were all declared to be in Contumacy, and outlaw'd. Whereupon those of the Reformation finding no Truth in the Regent's Word or Promises, and perceiving her Inveteracy towards 'em, prepared themselves against open Violence.

In this uneasy State of Things *John Knox* gather'd a great Multitude together at *Perth*, and made them such a Sermon against Popery, as set them all on fire. Most People went from the Sermon to Dinner, some few of the meaner sort staid behind in the House, but sufficiently incens'd: A Priest it seems was got among them, and to try their Tempers, offer'd to say Mass, and unfolded a great Picture with several Saints painted upon it, which a Youth standing by exclaiming against, the Priest gave him a Box o'th' Ear; the Lad taking up a Stone to throw at the Priest, hit the Picture, and broke out one of the Faces; the rest enraged flew some of them upon the Priest and the Picture, others upon other Altars, and in a moment destroyed all the Monuments of Pro-

phane Worship. This was done by the Rabble while the better sort were at Dinner: Then they ran in Fury to the Monasteries, the Common People flocking to them; and tho' the Friars had pretty well fortified themselves, yet no Force was able to withstand this Torrent of the Multitude. After they had defac'd their Altars, they fell to pulling down their Houses. The *Franciscans* first felt their Fury, then the *Dominicans*, and lastly the *Carthusians*; nor was their Abstinence from Plunder more remarkable than their Expedition in demolishing so many Fabricks: That of the *Carthusians* was so suddenly dispatcht, that within two Days there scarce remained any Footsteps of a Foundation. The News of this being brought to the Regent, did so enrage her, that she took a solemn Oath to expiate this transcendent Insolence with the Murder of the Citizens and Firing of the Town: And calling to her Aid the *Hamiltons*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Athol*, and what present Force she could get together, she marches them to *Perth*. The Town having notice of her Approach, send out to all their Friends for Succour, and hop'd they would not forsake 'em in this dangerous Conjunction: Whereupon great Numbers came out of the adjacent Parts to their Relief,
and

and several out of *Lothian*. But the Earl of *Glencarne* surpast 'em all in Expedition ; for marching with 2500 Horse and Foot both Day and Night, through sharp and uncooth Places, he past safe by the Queen's Camp, and brought them into *Perth*. *James Stuart*, Natural Son to the late King, and the Earl of *Argile*, remain'd in the Regent's Army ; for tho' they were both great Patrons of the Reformed Church, yet they staid about the Regent, in hopes they might be instrumental towards an Accommodation, by their Persuasions with her : but if they should perceive that the Papists were absolutely deaf to all Agreements, they would then go away, and take the same Fortune with their Friends at *Perth*. The Regent being inform'd by her Scouts that the Enemy were 7000 strong, tho' she had near that Number of *Scots* in her Army, besides the *French* Auxiliaries, yet being unwilling to hazard a Battle, sent over *Stuart* and the Earl of *Argile* to treat with the Enemy. They on the other side appointed *Alexander Cunningham* and *John Aireskin* to meet with them in order to an Accord, which is agreed upon in this manner : That the *Scotch* Forces should be dismiss'd on both Sides : The Town to be open for the Regent to come into and refresh her self and Followers : No Harm

or Injury to be offer'd to any of the Townsmen : None of the *French* to come into the Town, or within three Miles of it ; and all other Differences to be refer'd to the next Parliament.

This Breach thus happily made up, did not a little rejoice the Hearts of the Reformed, who went joyfully home, praising God that had given so happy a Period to their Differences without Blood. The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* retired to *St. Andrews*, having left the Regent at *Perth*, who having dismiss her Army, was honourably received into the Town ; but after a short time she performed her Promises according to her own former Exposition : For the *French* Soldiers having upon their Entry fired at a Balcony belonging to *Patrick Murray*, a Citizen of note, where his Family was gather'd to see the Shew, and kill'd his Son, all the redress he got upon his Complaint, was, that she was sorry the Chance had not fall'n on the Father ; that howsoever she could not help Accidents of that kind, by which they easily guess what would ensue, which they found accordingly : For several Citizens were plunder'd, others banisht, and the Magistrates displac'd without any Form of Law ; and at her Departure to *Sterling* she left a Garrison of *Scots* in the Town, against

against which when they objected her Promise, she answer'd, that she promis'd only that no *French* should be left there; And upon objecting that these *Scots* were *French* Stipendiaries, she gave the old Answer, No Faith was to be kept with Heretics. And now that she had got the Army disbanded, and put a Garrison into *Perth*, she conceiv'd her self in greater Security to act her Purposes; and sends first her threatening Letters to *Argile* and Lord *James* to return to Court at their utmost peril; and so having restor'd the Mass, and settled Affairs to her liking at *Perth*, she went to *Sterling*, upon which Place she had a special Eye, as well for the Situation of the Town, as the Number and Disposition of the Inhabitants. But she got not so much Advantage by the possessing her self of the strong Town of *Perth*, as she did lose by the Violation of her Faith and Promises; that Day being the last of her prosperous Affairs, and first of her Contempt. For now *Argile* and Lord *James* perceiving that their Reputation was concerned in the Invasion of the Truce made by their means, having gathered the Nobility to *St. Andrews*, joined themselves to the Reformed, and sent their Letters about to signify the great Danger that the Church of *Fife* was in: Whereupon a great Multitude

rude conven'd, highly inrag'd against the Regent and her Forces, ingag'd themselves in a War against People, whom neither Faith, Promises nor Oaths could bind, but that upon every light Blast of Fortune recalled and altered both their Words and Actions: and that no Peace could be hop'd for, 'till one Party were quite extinguished, and therefore they must prepare either to die or conquer. This so enrag'd the Minds of all the Professors, that they fell a-fresh upon pulling down Altars and destroying the Mass-Worship at *Cural*, a Town situate in the utmost Corner at *Fife*. From thence they went to *St. Andrews*, and having spoiled all the Religious Houses, those of the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* were laid level with the Ground: Which being done under the Arch-Bishop's Nose, tho' he thought he had Force enough to defend the Town; yet upon the pressing in of such vast Numbers, he was forced to retire himself to *Falkland* to his Friends and Relations there. The Regent hearing of this, without any further Consideration, order'd her Forces to march the next Day to *Comper*, and sent out Summons to all that could bear Arms to meet her there with all speed, and sent before to take up Quarters for her *French-men*, who, together with the *Hamilton* Forces, were ordered to be ready

ready to march upon the Sound of Trum-
pet. The Reformed having notice of it,
got together before her, where they were
met by the Townsmen of *Dundee*, and the
Noblemen of the adjacent Places, to the
number of 1000 Men; and with these For-
ces they marched out of Town, expecting
the Approach of the Popish Army, who staid
a little by the way to gather up what Force
they could. In the Regent's Army were
2000 *French* commanded by *d'Oissel*, and
1000 *Scotch* by the Duke of *Chatelrault*, for
so was *Hamilton* now called. And now the
Armies are come into each others view:
The Reformed received an Accession of
500 Men led by the Provost of *St. Andrews*,
which something appall'd the Courage of
the *French*, who were got upon an Emi-
nency, the better to view the Enemy,
whom they reported to be much superior
to their own, who now began secretly to
grumble, that they must be led to fight at
the pleasure of Strangers against their
own Friends and Relations. Upon this
the Regent consents that *Hamilton* should
delegate three of the most considerable of
their Party, and such as had either Friends
or Relations among the Enemy, to treat
of a Peace: But the Religious perceiving
how often the Regent had eluded them by
vain Words and Promises, a Peace could
not

not be concluded on ; besides, the sending away her foreign Auxiliaries (which was principally insisted upon) could not be done without first consulting with the King of *France* : Delays were made, not so much in order to a Peace, as the gaining time to send for Forces from abroad. So it was at last concluded, that the *French* should be removed to *Lothian*, and a Truce agreed on for eight Days, to give the Regent time to send some Persons to *St. Andrews*, that might conclude a Peace equally beneficial to both Parties. The Protestant Party finding the Regent protracting the time as much as she could, *Argile* and *Stuart* writ to her to withdraw her Garrison out of *Perth*, and leave the Town to their own Governance, the Reproach of which, they said, lay in some measure at their doors, who were Instruments of that Agreement ; but receiving no Answer, they drew their Forces towards that Town upon the lamentable Complaints of the Inhabitants, who were heavily oppressed by *Kinfarnes*, a neighbouring Laird, whom the Regent had left Governour there, reaking his private Malice in the executing of his Authority over the Citizens at his own pleasure, driving away some and plundering others, upon pretence of Religion, and allowing

no less licentious Practices in his Soldiers. These things being signify'd to their Friends and Accomplices at *Comper*, they presently besieged the Town, which was immediately surrender'd, *Kinsawnes* driven out, and *Patrick Ruven* the rightful Provost restor'd to the Place. From thence they march'd to *Scone*, and burnt it : *Argile* and *Stuart* hearing the Regent design'd to put a *French* Garrison into *Sterling*, march'd privately from *Perth*, and possess themselves of *Sterling*, and demolish'd the Friery there, and purged the other Superstitious Houses about the City from their Idolatrous Worship, and three Days after did the like at *Linlithgo*; which Expedition gave so great a Terror to the *Scotch* and *French* Stipendiaries, that they fled to *Dunbar*. The Reformers spent some time in ordering their Affairs, not only purging out the Mass-Worship, but also placing a Gospel-Ministry in its room.

In the mean time came over an Account of the Death of *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, which gave occasion to the Reformers to be a little more supine and careless. This the Regent taking advantage of, being inform'd of the Negligence us'd by the Soldiers at *Edinburgh*, marched strait thither with what Forces she could get together ; but being met with great
respect

respect by Duke *Hamilton* and *James* Earl of *Morton*, they persuaded her from engaging that Day, and at last prevail'd for a Truce from the 20th of *July* 1559. to continue 'till *January* following on these Conditions: That no body should be compel'd to use other Ceremonies than what they liked; no Garrison to be put into *Edinburgh*; the Priesthood not be hinder'd from gathering their Tithes and other Rents due to them; nor any of the Reformed demolish any more Monasteries or Religious Houses, or convert them to any other Uses; and that the next Day they should restore the Mint and Palace, with all the Furniture, into the Regent's hands. To the Observation of this she was more intent, in regard she had suffer'd so much in her Reputation by her former Breach of Promise, but fail'd not underhand to set on her own People to irritate the *Scots*, who were apt enough to take fire, and make them give occasion of executing her Cruelty on the poor People: And when no colour could be found to persecute them by Law, she caused false Rumors to be spread abroad, that under pretence of Religion they mediated only Rebellion, and design'd to extirpate the Royal Line, and set up *James Stuart* the late King's Bastard to be King. With these kind of Falsities when she

she perceiv'd the People to stagger a little,
 Letters are sent to him, as coming from
 the King and Queen of *France*, fill'd with
 Reproach for the ill use he made of their
 Favours to him, and Threats in case he
 did not return to his former Obedience.
 To which he answered, That he was not
 conscious of any thing he had done amiss,
 either against the Kings or the Laws, and
 what he acted was purely upon the ac-
 count of Religion, which he should never
 be brought to repent himself of; the Me-
 thod he pursu'd having Christ for its Au-
 thor and Defender, whom unless he should
 renounce, he could not forsake the Enter-
 prize he had begun: That both himself,
 and the rest, whom they called Rebels,
 saving in this respect, were most obedient
 Subjects. This was sent to the Regent, to
 be transmitted over into *France*, which she
 look'd upon as highly insolent. In the
 mean time a 1000 *French* land at *Leith*,
 and the Earl of *Arran*, Son to the late Re-
 gent, comes over to the Parliament that
 was then held at *Sterling*, the Occasion
 whereof was this: He had in his Discourses
 in the Court of *France* something too warm-
 ly taken the part of the Protestant Refor-
 mers; insomuch that the *Guises*, who had
 all the Power there with K. *Francis*, had
 design'd him to the Scaffold: The Cardinal
 being

being heard to say in the Parliament of *Paris*, that they should shortly see a Man, not much inferior in Quality to a Prince, brought to the Block. Which he being inform'd of, and apprehending that it was him they pointed at, he made his Escape into *Scotland*, and join'd himself to the Reformers, and brought his Father over to that Party.

With these new Recruits the Regent was so hearten'd, that she now set her mind afresh upon the absolute reducing of *Scotland*.

The Heads of the Faction hearing of the *French* Succours, some whereof were already come, and others on their way, with purpose to make a Cittadel at *Leith*, and make that their Retreat upon any Emergencies, gathering up all their Forces, laid Siege to it; but being destitute of Artillery, the greatest part whereof was in the Regent's hands, or in *Edinburgh* Castle, the Góvernour whereof had not yet declar'd himself in their favour, their Purpose was defeated. The *French* in the mean time sent over *Le Brasse* with 2000 Foot, to join with the Regent in carrying on the Catholick Cause; and with him were likewise sent the Bishop of *Amiens* and three *Sorbonists*, to argue (if occasion were) the Points in Controversy. Their coming did so ani-

mate

mate the Regent, that she solemnly protested to take Revenge of the Enemies of the Saints and the Kings: Twelve of the principal Persons of the Religion being at *Edinburgh*, were desired by *Le Brosse* and *Amiens* (that pretended to be delegated to that purpose) to appoint them a Day for Dispute; to which the other answered, That if that was their purpose, what need of all that Military Force? That they were not so silly as to venture upon a Disputation, where they were to be compelled by Force to such Conditions as their Enemies pleas'd: That if their Design was barely to dispute, let them send away their Forces, and come fairly to it. So much for the Ambassadors.

Touching the fortifying of *Leith* they wrote back to this effect: That they wonder'd the Regent should so soon, without any Provocation, depart from her Agreement, and driving away the antient Inhabitants of *Leith*, should, to the Ruin of their Laws and Liberties, place a Colony of Foreigners in Garrison upon them: Beseeching her not to be led by such Advices as tended to the Violation of her Promises, and Invasion of their Rights and Laws, and the publick Weal of the Kingdom; nor to compel them to implore the universal Aid of the People. And from

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Edin-

Edinburgh they wrote to the same Effect, adding this further Request, That the new Fortifications might be slighted, the Mercenary Strangers sent away, and a free Trade and Commerce allow'd; which if she refused, they must then conclude that she had a Design to enslave the Nation, which they held themselves obliged to obviate all they could. To this she sent her Answer by *Forman*, King at Arms, That she knew of no Authority, but that of her Son-in-laws and Daughters, from whence hers was derived; that the former Actions of the Nobility, and this last Address, or rather Command, seem'd to imply, that they acknowledg'd no superior Power, nor did this Petition, or rather Threat, seem new to her; that she would have the Duke of *Castle-herald* remember his Promises to her by Word, and to the King by Letter, that his Son should not engage in any Stirs in his Country. This in return of what they mention'd about her Promises. Her Letters were full of Recriminations, and that, as to the fortifying of *Leith*, she stir'd not in that Business, 'till they assembled in tumultuous Numbers, and made an Association among themselves, without consulting her, to the disturbance of the publick Peace at their own pleasure. She desired to know why they should keep an
Army

Army together at *Edinburgh*, and she might not as well fortify *Leith* for her own Security? Did they mention in their Letters their Readiness to obey the Magistrate, or propose fair ways of settling a future Peace? Yet notwithstanding this, if they would return to their former Obedience, she would readily hearken to an Accord: And as for the *French* Forces, those were sent by Authority from the King, and of whose longer stay themselves were the Occasion: That she would decline no Methods of Agreement, that did not infringe the Authority Royal, which she her self had not only been forward to express, but their Kings also had sent over an eminent Person of their Privy Council, and a considerable Prelate, to treat about these Matters, to whom they have been so far from giving Answer, that they have not yet vouchsaf't 'em Audience. Therefore she commands him to let the Duke and the rest know, that if they did not presently disband, he should denounce them Rebels. To which the Lords sent this Reply: That they had receiv'd her Letters sent them by the Herald at Arms, by which they perceiv'd how averse she was both to the Worship of God, and the Good of their Country, and the publick Liberty, which to shew their own Adherence to, they

think it highly consistent with their Duties, in order to the Preservation of their Country, to suspend her from any further Exercise of her usurped Authority, which she pretended to derive from the Kings, and which they were well assur'd she had made use of so much against their Royal Inclinations, which always tended to the Good and Welfare of their People: And forasmuch as she did not own them to be the Great Council of the Kingdom, they held themselves no longer oblig'd to own her as Regent; yet notwithstanding, for the Reverence they bear her as Mother to their Queen, they pray her to withdraw out of the Town within 24 hours, and take along with her those Persons that came as Ambassadors or Disputants, or for whatever else they came for; and all her Mercenary Forces, whose Lives they would willingly spare, for the antient Amity that had been betwixt the *Scots* and *French*, and in respect of the *French* King's marrying their Queen: For, to be short, they did resolve at the utmost hazard of their Lives and Fortunes to take the Town. Thereupon they made an Ordinance for the abrogating her Authority, discharging her Delegacy from the Kings, and forbidding her to act any further in the Government, 'till a General Meeting of the States, which should be appointed

appointed when they saw convenient.

The 25th Day the Lords sent a Herald to *Leith*, to warn all the *Scots* to leave the Town, and withdraw themselves within 24 hours from the Disturbers of the publick Liberty; after which there happen'd several Skirmishes without any great loss on either hand. In the beginning of this Business such a Terror fell among the Lords of the Congregation, that did not only disturb their Affairs for the present, but was like also to extinguish all Hopes of good Success for the future: For the Regent had by Threats and Promises drawn off a great many from their Party, their Army was full of her Spies and Correspondents, and a Servant of *James Balfour* being taken carrying of Letters into *Leith*, brought Suspicion upon many, and Fear upon all; their Soldiers too began to mutiny for Pay; but that which gave them the greatest Apprehension, was the Despondency of the Duke of *Chatelherault*, whose Imbecilities and Fear occasion'd great Distraction. Those that stood firm took first into Consideration the Raising of Money to pacify the Soldiers, which being proposed among the Lords, some thro' Penury withheld their Hands, and others made Poverty their Excuse; so that a Sum could not be raised for quieting the Mutineers. They determin'd

therefore to melt down what Plate they had among them; but that Expedient likewise failing, by reason that the Stamps could not be found for coining it, their last Hope was turn'd upon *England*: Whereupon they sent *James Cockburn* of *Ormston* to Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Crofts* (the Queen's Cashiers at *Berwick*) for a little Mony to supply their present Occasions; which the Regent having notice of, sent *Bothwell* to surprize him in his Return, which he accordingly perform'd, altho' he had formerly given Hopes of his coming over to the Confederates.

James Stuart and the Earl of *Arran* hearing at *Edinburgh* that *Bothwell* was on his March, issued out thence with a Party, in hopes to have intercepted him; but he escaped 'em with *Cockburn* and the Mony. And now the Cause began more violently to decline, so that the Confederates resolv'd of quitting *Edinburgh* and removing to *Sterling*, which was presently done, where *Knox* by an excellent Sermon raises up their dejected Spirits; and there they resolved, that seeing the *French* had daily Recruits come over, they would serve themselves of Strangers too, and thereupon sent *William Maicland*, a young Gentleman of great Parts and Ingenuity, to the Queen of *England*, to animadvert her of the Dan-

ger that *England* would be in, if the *French* should possess themselves of Garrisons in *Scotland*; and if they could once by that means reduce it to their Arbitrary Jurisdiction, it would then let an easy Passage into *England*; and the Disadvantage she would find by such Proceedings of the *French*. The *English*, after some Debate about the Matter, gave 'em hopes of Succours: And now the Confederates divide their Forces; one Part was to remain at *Glasgow* to defend their Friends in the neighbouring Provinces, and the other was sent into *Fife*. In the mean time the *French* made several Sallies and Excursions, in hopes to break in upon the Confederate Forces before the *English* could arrive; and to that Purpose march'd against them in *Fife*, and in their Passage wasted *Linlithgoe* and the Lands of the *Hamiltons*, so march'd on to *Sterling*, and thence to *Kincarne*; and where they could not exercise their Cruelty upon the Owners, the Houses and Towns went to wreck, and among others, that of *Kircaldy of Grange*, which they pulled down to the Ground; and much other Mischief was done to the Confederates Lands. Those that were left in Quarters about *Desert* came all to *Comper*, and agreed with them of *Glasgow* to send over to treat with the Queen of *England*; the

Sum whereof was this : That they should mutually oppose all foreign Force that came to make War in *Britain* : That the Queen of *England* should pay all the Mercenary *English* she should send into *Scotland*, and likewise all *Scotch* Forces they should send to her : That the Plunder taken from the Enemy should go to the *English*, and the Towns and Castles be restored to their antient Owners : The *Scots* to send Hostages to remain in *England* during the Marriage of the *French* King with the *Scotch* Queen, and a twelvemonth after.

This was done at *Berwick* the 27th of *February* 1560. The *English* sent to the Confederates by no means to engage the Enemy 'till their Recruits came up and joined them, for fear lest the *Scots* should by their Over-hastiness endanger all. In the mean time the *French* having wasted *Desert* and *Weemes*, debated with themselves whether they should march directly to the Enemy, or coast along the Shore to *St. Andrews*, and so to *Comper* : They agreed upon the latter, in regard of the Difficulties the Horse would meet with in marching thro' the Islands, by reason of the great Snows that were then lately fallen. When they had march'd a little on the Shore, and came to *Kincrage*, some of them stepping up to the Head of the Promontory
that

that afforded the fairest Prospect to the Sea, brought News of a Fleet of eight tall Ships they had discover'd, which they saluted with great Joy, as thinking they had come from *France* with the Supplies expected thence; but they proved to be *English*, which made them straitway change their Note, and the more, in regard that News was brought them of a Land Army upon the March from *England*, that were advanced already to the Borders; so they hasten'd away from thence to *Leith*, fearing lest that Garrison should be attacked by the Enemy. In this Expedition they make bold with the Goods of their Friends, the Papists, that came in daily to them, more than of their Enemies, the wealthiest of whom had sent away their Goods before their coming: For now the *French* were so exalted with their late Successes, and the hopes of fresh Supplies, that they concluded all that Quarter to be their own, and therefore preserved the wealthiest Parts, as their own peculiar Spoil; which when the *Scotch* Papists complain'd of, they were disdainfully reprov'd for their Sloth and Covetousness in assisting the Cause. This turn'd the Hearts of a great many from them; insomuch that those of *Fife*, partly for fear of the Enemy, and partly for the Injuries done to their Companions, list'd themselves,

under

under the Confederates ; and the remoter Countries fell off from the Foreigners, and were as fierce in suppressing the Tyranny of the *French*, as the other in vindicating their Religion. And now the Spring approaching, both Sides hasten to get their Supplies together: Two Ships with 1000 Foot and a few Horse were sent from *France* under the Command of Monsieur *Martigue*, which after his Men were landed, were taken by the *Scots*, and more were expected with Men and Mony under the Command of the Marquiss *d'Elbeuf*, the Regent's Brother, which partly in fear of the *English* that were cruising in great Numbers, and partly under pretence of a Storm, returned back from whence they came. Mean while another *English* Fleet is sent to recruit the former that besieged the Island of *Keith*, and straiten'd *Leith* of all Provision by Sea. And now the Heads of the Protestant Faction in *Fife* went to *Perth*, where having discours'd *Huntley* for two or three Days, they seized all that part of *Scotland* Northward to themselves, and gave out Orders for a Rendezvouse in the latter End of *March*, at which time almost all the principal Men of the Church Faction met at *Linlithgoe*, and marching from thence in *April* following, joined the *English* Forces at *Haddington*, consisting of

6000

6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, and the Night following took up their Quarters at *Preston*; upon the News whereof the Regent retir'd her self into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which was commanded by *Aireskin*, under the Conditions formerly mentioned, who was careful in the mean time to keep it safe from the Enterprises of the *French*. The Heads of the Faction being assembled at *Dalkeith*, and hoping to find the Regent a little more inclinable to Peace, by reason of the Increase of their Numbers, and her failing of Supplies from *France*, wrote to her once again humbly to desire her to send away the *French* Forces, which upon her former Refusal to do, they, for the Preservation of their Liberties, were forced to beg Assistance from the Queen of *England*, to enable them to do; which altho' they had procured, yet to shew their Respect and Duty to the Mother of their Queen, and withal to avoid, as much as possible, the shedding of Christian Blood, they once more beseech her to send away her *French* Forces, with their Captains and Commanders; for the more commodious doing whereof, the Queen of *England* would not only allow them to march safely thro' her Country, but would take care also to transport them into *France* with her own Fleet: Which Offers if she did reject, they call'd
 God

God and Men to witness, that it was not out of Hatred or Malice that they had recourse to those Extremities, but meerly for the preserving of the publick Weal and and their own private Persons and Estates and Posterities from Ruin : Nor that any thing they then suffer'd, or greater Hardships yet to be put upon them, should lessen their Allegiance to the Queen, or to the King her Husband, provided they did not apparently threaten their utter Ruin and Destruction. And therefore they do once again most humbly beseech her to hearken to an Accommodation, in doing of which she would signalise her Moderation to the World and bring Tranquility to a considerable part of *Christendom*. This was dated at *Dalkeith* the 4th of *April* 1560. After this there happen'd several Skirmishes, and some smart Engagements betwixt the *English* and *French*, where the Disadvantage fell upon the latter. The 11th of *May* *John Montluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, arrived, and was safely conducted, first to the *English* Camp, and then to the Regent in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, with whom having discours'd two Days, he returned to the *Scotch* Noblemen, but could make no Agreement with them, unless the *French* Forces were sent away.

In the mean time the *English* make their Approaches to *Leith*, where a great Fire happen'd in the Town, wherein the *English* were not wanting to themselves in playing their Cannon to hinder the People from quenching it; and if the *French* had not on their Parts been very circumspect, it had made an end of the War. The *English* attempted to storm it, but without Success; then they set fire on the Water-Mills, and in a few days renewed their Assault, but were again beaten off. Three Days the *French* spent in repairing the Breaches, which they did, notwithstanding the playing of the *English* Artillery upon them. This Success did so animate the Papists, that they concluded the *English* would suddenly raise the Siege; but were mistaken therein, for the *English* and *Scots* did notwithstanding hearten one another, 'till at last Letters came from the Duke of *Norfolk* to the Lord *Gray*, who then commanded in chief, that he should continue the Siege, and that they should not want Supplies of any thing within the Precincts of his Command, which then extended from the *Trent* to *Tweed*; and that if Occasion were, he would come himself into the Camp; and in the mean time order'd his own Tent to be set up there, and within a few Days sent a Recruit of 2000 Soldiers, which

which gave them fresh Encouragement. In the mean time the Queen of *England* sends over *William Cecil*, a wise and sober Man, and one whose Counsel she much rely'd upon, and *Wotton*, Dean of *Tork*, into *Scotland* to treat of Peace, who being commanded to confer with *Randan* and *Montluc*, Ambassadors from *France* (the Kings thinking it below their Dignity to send an Embassy to Subjects) the Result was, that for the quieting of these Controversies a Parliament should be called to meet in *July* following.

In the mean time the Queen-Mother, harass'd with Sickness and Vexation, died in the Castle of *Edinburgh* about the beginning of *June*, whose Death occasion'd various Discourses, as People stood affected. She was a Woman of great Wit and Parts, and in her own Inclination dispos'd enough to Equity and Justice, which she did evidently manifest, by reducing the remotest Inhabitants of the Isles into good Order, thro' her prudent Management of Affairs: And those things wherein she carry'd her self most fierce, were conceiv'd to be rather animated by the Instigation of her Brothers, the *Guises*, than to be the Effects of her own natural Temper; tho' some others held another Opinion. A third sort were apt to impute it to the Advice of her *French* Counsel-

Counsellors, whose Directions she was to serve in the managing of publick Affairs, and principally *Monfieur d'Oiffel*, a Man of haſty Temper, but good Parts, of great Abilities both in War and Peace, and one that directed his Opinions rather by the Line of Juſtice than the Pleaſure of the *Guiſes*; to whom was added *Ruby* a Civilian of *Paris*, that might argue the Points of Law, that ſhould happen to ariſe in Controverſy, who by endeavouring to model all Proceedings at Law after the *French* Pattern, was not a little ſuſpected of Innovation.

Towards the End of the War three Perſons had the Guidance of Military Affairs, viz. *Martigue* of the Family of *Luxembourg*, *Le Broſſe*, a Man of good Quality and great Experience in War, with whom was join'd the Biſhop of *Amiens* with his *Sorbonne* Doctors, as if the War was to have been carry'd on as well with the Pen as the Sword: All three agreeing to eſtabliſh an Arbitrary Power.

Martigue was for waſting all the Places near *Leith* with Fire and Sword, in hopes to ſtarve out the Enemy; but he fail'd in his Purpoſe, in regard freſh Proviſions came to the Camp from *England* by Sea, and only ſerved to waſte the Papiſts Eſtates as well as the other in that Quarter. *Le Broſſe*
was

was for a total Extirpation of the *Scotch* Nobility, and that out of their Estates a thousand Men at Arms of the *French* might be rais'd and maintain'd in their rooms, and the rest of the People reduc'd into Servitude : Letters whereof to the *French* King being intercepted, did much increase the Hatred that was already conceiv'd against them upon other accounts. The Bishop of *Aimens* was for bringing to the Block all those that were not thorow-pac'd, as well to the *French* Interest as to Popery, and rebuk'd the Soldiers for suffering the Enemies of their King to go about in safety ; and in particular pointed at *William Maicland*, whom because the *Sorbonnists* could not refute by Argument, the Bishop would convince him by the Sword, recommending the Confutation of him to the *French* Soldiers ; which he being aware of, withdrew himself from the *French*, and came over into the *Scottish* Camp.

End of the First Book.

AN
ACCOUNT

OF THE
Affairs of SCOTLAND,

From the DEATH of

JAMES the Fifth,

Till the Death of the Earl of
Murray Regent of Scotland,

1571.

BOOK II.

A Few Days after the Queen-Regent's
Death, a short Truce was made, to
give Audience to the Ambassadors
that were arrived from France and England
to treat of an Accord, the chiefest Obstacle
whereof

whereof was, that the *French* insisted upon Liberty to carry away the great Pillage they had got the last Winter in the adjacent Parts, which not being able to obtain, the Wars were still continu'd with several Sallies and fierce Skirmishes, tho' of less Success to the *French* than formerly. At last both Sides being sufficiently tired, were the more inclinable to hear of an Accommodation: So the Ambassadors met, and at a second Conference, to the general Content of all Sides, upon the 8th Day of June 1560. a Peace was concluded on these Terms: That the *French* should be ship'd away with Bag and Baggage; and in regard the *Scots* were at that time destitute of Shipping for Transportation of so great Numbers of Men, Ships for that purpose were to be borrow'd of the Queen of *England*, and Hostages given 'till their safe Return: That *Leith* should be surrender'd to the *Scots*, and the Walls pull'd down: That the Fortifications lately built by the *French* at *Dunbarre* should be slighted: That this being done, the *English* should withdraw their Forces, that *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, by the Consent of her Husband, *Francis* the *French* King, should grant an Act of Oblivion of all things done or attempted by the Nobility of *Scotland* from the 10th of March 1559. 'till the 1st of August 1560. which was to be past at the next Sitting of the Parliament,

which

which was put off 'till that time: And that the Queen and her Husband should give their full Assent to the sitting thereof accordingly: That threeſcore *French* should keep the Island of *Inketh* and the Castle of *Dunbarre*, lest the Queen might seem to be quite dispoſſeſt of the Kingdom.

After the Departure of the foreign Force, 'till the Queen's Return into *Scotland*, there was a perfect Cessation of Arms: The Parliament open'd at *Edinburgh* at the time appointed, where the chief Business was to prepare Laws for establishing the true Religion, which were sent over into *France* for the Royal Assent: And this they did, not so much in hopes of obtaining their Purposes, as to try how her Majesty stood affected. Ambassadors were likewise sent into *England* to return their humble Thanks for the seasonable Assistance they had receiv'd from thence. About this time began that great Revolution in *France* touching those of the Reformed Religion there, who were persecuted to Death by the *Guises* Faction: The King of *Navarre* confin'd to perpetual Imprisonment, his Brother the Prince of *Conde* adjudg'd to Death, *Ann* of *Momoraney* and his two Nephews, *Gaspar* and *Francis Colignie*, and the *Vidame* of *Chartre* design'd to the same Fate, and near 10000 more put into the Black Book: The Town of *Orleans* fill'd with Foot, and the Country about,

with Garrisons and Horse-Quarters, and a general Calamity threaten'd to the Reformed Religion. In the midst of these Distractions the *French* King fell sick on a sudden, so that the Ambassador was dismiss'd without an Answer, and at *Paris* hearing of the King's Death, which happen'd the 13th of *December*, went home with better Hopes: The Report whereof did not more elevate the drooping Spirits of the *Scots*, than it fill'd *France* with fresh Seditions and intestine Broils.

Scotland being now freed from the *French* Yoke by the Death of *Francis*, *James* the Queen's Brother went over to wait upon her with all possible speed, who found her in *Lorain* with her Uncles, whither she had retired her self in her Widowhood, where, after several Discourses past between them, the Queen discover'd her Mind of going over into *Scotland*, and had set a Day for that purpose, to which her Uncles did much incline; and before the Arrival of *James*, the Matter had been under Consideration among them, where the Difficulties of the Journey were laid open, and chiefly their Doubts of the Queen of *England* were objected; and when those were over, yet she was to go to a barbarous sort of People, who were not forward to obey even the Commands of Men; that the Examples of her Father and Mother both were fresh before

fore her Eyes, whom when they could not, or durst not openly oppress, yet they drove them by their Artifices to Desperation, and enforced them to run a perpetual hazard either of Honour or of Life. On the other Side 'twas answer'd by those that understood the *Scotch* Affairs, that those Seditious were oftner occasion'd by the Fault of the Princes than the Subjects, while they endeavour'd to reduce the Kingdom, which was always us'd to be govern'd by their Laws, under an Arbitrary Jurisdiction, which the others, being a People more warlike than rich, could not submit unto; but all the Kings that were studious to preserve the Rights of the People, were not only safe from foreign Attempts, but from Domestick Troubles, and by the Love of their People reign'd with Security at home and Renown abroad: That the surest way at present for quieting Affairs, would be, not to offer at any Alteration in the Religion then receiv'd. These were openly discuss'd on both hands; but other Reasons guided her Relations to the advising of her Journey; for her Uncles, whose Hopes were more ambitious than honest, thought they had her surer in their Power at a remote Distance, than if she should remain in *France*; besides, they promis'd themselves no small Interest in the neighbouring Princes by the Marriage of her. In the mean

time they took care that some of their own Creatures should still preside in *Scotland*. Moreover the Queen her self was also much inclin'd to the Journey, as not being willing to descend from being the Queen-Consort, tho' her Reign was short, to be subjected to the Pleasure of a Mother-in-law : To which her Brother's Persuasions and Promises added not a little, assuring her she would find all quiet at home ; and as to himself, she might be confident of any thing that lay in him to serve her, having had the good Fortune of gaining some Reputation, and making no inconsiderable Figure in the World.

Upon this *Noaly* of *Bourdeaux*, that was sent out of *France* at the End of the last Session of Parliament, was referred over to the Meeting appointed in *June* following, where the Nobles would not act, tho' many met, being uncertain of the Queen's Pleasure. In the mean time comes over *Stuart* with a Commission from the Queen, to give them Authority to convene and act for the publick Good, where at length the *French* Ambassador had Audience : His Business to them was, that they would renew their antient Confederacy with *France*, and break their new League made with the *English* : That the Priests might be restored as well to their Functions as Possessions. To which it was answer'd, That as

to the Alliance with *France*, they did not conceive themselves guilty of the breaking of it; but that on the other hand it had been violated by the *French*, and more especially of late, when they endeavour'd to bring a People, that had been their fast and antient Friends, without doing any thing that might deserve it, into Slavery: And to break the League with *England*, that they could not do without the greatest Ingratitude imaginable, and conspiring the Hurt and Damage of those that had protected them; and for those Persons he call'd Priests, they did neither own their Character, nor were convinc'd of their Usefulness in the Church. At the same time they pass an Act for demolishing of all Monasteries, and Persons were strait sent away to put it in Execution. The Queen being ready for her Journey, is advis'd by those that were Intimates with her, for the present to dissemble the Matter of Religion, tho' there wanted not others that gave weaker, yet more bloody and pernicious Counsel; among whom were *Dury*, Abbot of *Dumferling*, and *Sinclaire*, Bishop Elect of *Britching*; to which the Queen her self was in her Nature inclinable enough, insomuch that sometimes threatning Expressions would slip from her unawares, which came to the Peoples Ears, and among her Privadoes she would often brag, that she meant

to follow the Pattern of her Kinswoman *Mary Queen of England*. The Result of all was, that she should for the present encourage her own Party with Hopes, and depress the other by degrees; and when she had Forces and Strength enough, then to make her Mind known, wherein she might well enough assist her self with the Council of *Trent*, which tho' it was call'd under a Pretence to regulate some Exorbitancies of the Clergy, yet the bottom of their Purpose was only to extirpate the Professors of the Gospel, as afterwards it more clearly appear'd. Her Uncles fail'd not to encourage her in this, by shewing her the great Power of the Popish Party, of which *Francis* the eldest of the *Guises* was declared Head. In the mean time the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, among these publick Matters not forgetful of his private Lucre, endeavour'd to persuade the Queen, in regard of the great Hazards of so long a Voyage, to leave her Household-stuff and other Goods of Value with him, 'till she got safe to her Journys-end. To which, understanding her Uncle's Design, she answer'd, that since she did adventure her self, she saw no Reason why her Goods should not run the same Fortune with her Person. Upon this *d'Oissel* is sent over to try the Affections of the Queen of *England*, who assured her upon his Return, that if she would take *Eng-*
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land in her way, she should want for no kind of Entertainment that might be expected from Friends and Allies, and that the Queen would take it as a great Favour at her hands ; but on the other side, she should look upon her self as slighted, if she pass by her without giving her a Visit. The Queen of *England* had at that time a considerable Fleet at Sea, under pretence of giving chase to Pirates ; but others thought it was to surprize the Queen of *Scots*, if she attempted to pass by without her Leave : But whatever Design was laid, she escap'd it, and arriv'd safe in *Scotland* about the latter end of *August*. Thus having taken a short Prospect of the *Scotch* Affairs during the Queen's Minority, and her Stay in *France*, we shall now be a little more particular in the Sequel of the Story.

The Report of the Queen's Arrival being spread abroad, brought the Nobility from all Parts of the Kingdom to congratulate her safe Return ; some to remind her of the Services they had done her in her Absence, or to prevent the ill Representation of their Enemies ; a great many to observe the Measures she took in the beginning of her Reign, and from thence to give a Judgment how it would prove in the Sequel : And tho' they came possess'd with divers Opinions, yet all concurr'd in an universal Joy to behold their Queen restored ,
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to 'em after so many Accidents of both Kinds of Fortune ; as being first among the furious Storms of War, depriv'd of her Father, when she was but a Week old ; and tho' brought up under the Care of a most excellent Mother, yet between Civil Dissentions and Foreign Arms, left a Prey to the prevailing Party ; and before she could have any Sense of her Calamity, expos'd to all the Dangers of an angry Fortune, and leaving her own Country under a civiler sort of Exile, escap'd with difficulty the Arms of her Enemies, and the Violence of the Seas ; where Fortune in some measure began to change Countenance upon her in an illustrious Match, which afforded her but a momentary Joy ; for she became in a short time both a Widow and Motherless, losing the new Kingdom she had lately got, and but upon indifferent Terms with her old one. Nor did these various Hazards of her Fortune more recommend her to her People, than her excellent Beauty and transcendent Parts, which, by her being bred at Court, were set off to the best Advantage ; tho' that inclin'd her too much to Insincerity, and prejudiced her natural Goodness by a too much affected Complaisance, and stopt the Seeds of Vertue in her from growing to their full Maturity. Tho' these things pleas'd the Vulgar, yet they could not deceive

ceive the quicker-sighted, who hop'd notwithstanding, that in regard she was young, and consequently soft and flexible, Time and Usage might reclaim her.

Among these Caressings an Accident happen'd, which tho' it was but of a small Concern, yet gave great Amusement, and sunk deep into the Minds of both Parties: For the Queen having agreed with the Nobility not to innovate upon the Religion then receiv'd, was allow'd to have a private Mass for her self and Family; and as they were carrying the Necessaries for it thro' the Court into the Chappel, a Fellow steps out of the Crowd, and snatches away the Wax-Candles, and breaks 'em to Pieces, and if some moderate Persons had not interpos'd, the rest of the Furniture had met with the same Fortune. This Attempt was variously censured, some blaming it as too insolent an Act, others thinking it done to try how it would be resented; some crying out that the Priest directed the Punishment inflicted by the Holy Law upon Idolaters: But the Commotion was presently quieted by *James* the Queen's Brother, which was privately stomach'd by *Gordon*, who was forward to propagate Disturbances on all Occasions, and thinking this a Means of getting himself into Favour, promis'd the Queen's Uncles, who were there at that time, to reduce all the Northern

Northern Parts of *Scotland* to their antient Worship ; but they knowing the Temper of the Man, and doubting his Performance, and fearful withal of raising any new Commotion, acquainted the Queen's Brother with it. The rest of this Year was spent in Mirth and Entertainments, having honourably dismiss the *French* that had in Civility waited upon the Queen home : The Marquess of *Elbeuf*, one of the Queen's Uncles staying behind. Mean while *William Maicland* Junior is sent Ambassador into *England* with the usual Complements to that Queen, and Assurances of the Queen's Affections to her, and Desires of preserving Peace and Concord with her ; and next presented her with Letters from the Nobles of *Scotland*, full of their grateful Acknowledgments of her former Favours to them ; and chiefly they beseech her to shew her self both publickly and privately a Friend unto their Queen, that she being sensible of her Favours, might not only be forward to preserve the Friendship begun, but, if possible, to make it more strict and firm ; and that they would omit no Opportunity on their Parts to shew their Desires of perpetuating the Concord and Amity betwixt the two neighbouring Kingdoms : and that the surest way to obliterate all Marks of Discord and Dissension for the future, would be for the Queen

of

of *England* to declare by Act of Parliament, to that purpose to be past, the Queen of *Scots* next lawful Heir to that Crown after her self and Children, if she should have any. Which Act the Ambassador did labour by several Arguments to evince the Reasonableness of, and added withal, that no body was more concern'd than her self to propagate it, in regard she was her nearest Relation, and that his Queen did consequently hope for such a Declaration from her. To which the Queen of *England* reply'd in this manner: 'I did expect another sort of Embassy from your Queen; for I cannot but wonder that she should forget what, after so much Entreaty, she promis'd before her Departure out of *France*, viz. That she would ratify and confirm the Treaty of *Leith*, of which she promis'd to give me her positive Answer as soon as she got home: I have already had enough of Words, 'tis now high time, if she have any regard to her Honour, to make them out in Deeds.

To this he answer'd, That he was commanded to this Embassy but a few Days after the Queen's Return, before she had medled with any publick Business, being for the most part taken up in receiving the Nobles that came to wait upon her, to most of whom she was a perfect Stranger; but her chiefeft Business was the reducing of
 Reli-

Religion to a certain Form, and how difficult that was her Majesty was not ignorant; and from hence she might easily conclude this Queen could have but little spare Time before his coming thence, nor could she make choice of fit Persons to advise withal in so weighty an Affair; and especially when those that liv'd far North were not arrived at Court before he came away, without whom Matters of so great Importance to the Publick neither could nor ought to be dispatch'd. The Queen a little mov'd, reply'd, 'And what need, I pray, had your Queen of Consultation for the Dispatch of that which she had engag'd under her Hand and Seal to perform? To which he told her Majesty he could not give a present Answer, as being a Matter which he had not in charge, nor did his Queen expect that any Account would be demanded of him; and that she might please to consider with her self the Reasons that might very well induce his Queen to a Delay. After several Discourses past one way and the other between them, the Queen returning to the weighty Point of his Negotiation, said, 'I took particular notice of what you intimated in your Speech made to me in your Queen's Name; and in enlarging upon what you had in Command from the Nobles of Scotland, That she was descended from the Blood

' Blood Royal of *England*, and that I was
 ' by the strict Bonds of Nature ingag'd to
 ' love her as my nearest Kinswoman;
 ' which I neither will nor can deny, for I
 ' have plainly manifested to the World, that
 ' I have attempted nothing either against
 ' her Safety, or the Peace of her Kingdom:
 ' And those that have had a nearer Know-
 ' ledge of my private Thoughts and Inclina-
 ' tion, are able to testify, that tho' I was
 ' so justly provok'd by her usurping of my
 ' Royal Arms, and laying thereby a Claim
 ' to my Kingdom, yet I was ever of Opini-
 ' on that these Seeds of Discord were
 ' sown by other Hands than hers: But
 ' howsoever the Case is, I think she shall
 ' lay no hold upon my Scepter whilst I
 ' live, nor hinder my Children, if I shall
 ' have any, from reigning after me; but
 ' if any Accident should snatch me from
 ' the World, she shall not find that I have
 ' done any Act that may prejudice or im-
 ' peach her Title to the Crown; which
 ' Right of hers I never set much Value on,
 ' nor have I a mind to bring that Matter in-
 ' to question, and therefore shall leave it to
 ' their Judgments, whose Interest it will be
 ' to search into that Matter. But the Cause
 ' of your Queen, if it be just, so she may
 ' expect I will in no wise bring a Prejudice
 ' upon it: And I take God to witness, that
 ' hears our present Discourse, that I know
 ' none

none, next my self, that I would prefer
 before her, or that in case the Matter
 should come into dispute, could probably
 exclude her. You know, says she, who
 stand in Competition; but what Help or
 Strength can those poor Wretches pro-
 mise to themselves? In fine, after a long
 Debate she came to this Result: 'That it
 was a Matter of great weight, and this
 was the first time she had any serious Dis-
 course about it, and must therefore take a
 further time to consider of it.

After a few Days she sent for the Amba-
 sador again, and told him, 'She very much
 wonder'd at this Request of the Nobles
 just upon their Queen's returning home,
 especially since they knew that the Cau-
 ses of her first Exceptions were not yet re-
 moved. But what is this Request of
 theirs, that after having receiv'd so great
 an Affront, I should, without any Satis-
 faction offer'd, gratify her in so great a
 Matter? And how much does this Re-
 quest of theirs differ from a Threat?
 wherein if they go on, I would have them
 know, that I want neither Strength at
 home nor Friends abroad any more than
 they do, to defend my Right.

To which he answer'd, That from the be-
 ginning he had made it plainly out, that the
 Nobles in the opening this way to publick
 Amity, did it partly from Inducement of

Duty that obliges them to take care to preserve their Queen in all Security and Honour, and partly for the better establishing of publick Peace and conciliating Friendship; and that they were more free and open with your Majesty than any other Prince, does arise, not only from the great Experience they have had of your Royal Favours and Inclinations, but also for their own peculiar Safety, in regard they look upon themselves involv'd in hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, if any Opposition should be made to their Queen's Right, or any War arise between these Kingdoms upon that account: Wherefore they cannot think their Desires unreasonable, that tend to the taking away all Occasions of Dispute, and to the composing of all Differences in a firm and solid Peace. ' If I had
 ' attempted any thing, says she, that might
 ' lessen your Queen's Right, there might
 ' have been some Reason for such an Application; but this Request, that I would
 ' while I am alive, put on my Winding-sheet, is without Example, nor was ever
 ' such a thing requested of a Prince before.
 ' I am not ill pleased with the Sense of your
 ' Nobility in this Address, which seems to
 ' terminate in the Service of their Queen
 ' and Advancement of her Honour; nor
 ' do I less approve their Prudence in providing for their own Security, and endeavouring

' vouring to avoid the Effusion of Christian
 ' Blood, which I must acknowledge could
 ' not well be avoided, if any Party should
 ' start up and lay Claim to the Crown :
 ' But what can that Party be, and with
 ' what Strength supported ? But setting
 ' this aside, imagine me inclinable to yield
 ' to such an Overture, think you I would
 ' do it upon their account, and not rather
 ' chuse to gratify their Queen, and make the
 ' Obligation hers ? But there are several
 ' other Reasons which draw my Thoughts
 ' from such a Resolution. First I am not
 ' ignorant of the Danger I should run in
 ' stirring such a Point ; and therefore I have
 ' studiously avoided the controverting of
 ' those Matters that might bring the Right
 ' of the Crown in question : For 'tis now
 ' become so general a Practice to debate the
 ' Validity of Matrimony and Legitimation
 ' of Issue, every one arguing for the Side
 ' he stands inclin'd to, that these Disputati-
 ' ons have been a Means of diverting me
 ' from Marriage hitherto. When first I
 ' publicly receiv'd the Crown, I was then
 ' wedded to the Kingdom, as a Pledg where-
 ' of I always wear this Ring ; and howso-
 ' ever Matters go, whilst I live, I will be
 ' Queen of *England*, when I am gone, let
 ' those succeed me that have the best Right ;
 ' which if it prove to be your Queen, I will
 ' in the mean time do nothing to obstruct
 ' her

' her ; but if it be another's Right, 'tis un-
 ' just to press me to impeach it in this man-
 ' ner. If there be any Law already that
 ' hinders the Succession of your Queen, 'tis
 ' more than I know of, nor am I very cu-
 ' rious in the enquiring after it ; but if there
 ' be any, when I came to the Crown, I so-
 ' lemnly swore to my Subjects not to change
 ' their Laws. But as to the other Part of
 ' your Discourse, that such a Declaration
 ' of the Succession would beget a stricter
 ' Amity between us, I rather fear it will
 ' occasion Hatred. Do you think I can
 ' take pleasure to behold my Funerals pre-
 ' paring every Day before my Eyes ? 'Tis
 ' not unusual for Kings to look upon their
 ' Successors (tho' they be their own Chil-
 ' dren) with a jealous Eye : How did King
 ' *Charles* the 7th of *France* look upon his
 ' Son *Lewis* the 11th, or he again on his
 ' Son *Charles* the 8th, or *Francis* lately upon
 ' his Son *Henry* ? And how should I in all
 ' likelihood carry my self to my Kinswo-
 ' man, if she were once confirm'd my Heir ?
 ' Surely no otherwise than *Charles* the 7th
 ' did to his Son *Lewis*. But my last and
 ' greatest Reason still remains. I know the
 ' fickle Humour of this People, what a
 ' malignant Eye they cast upon the present
 ' Government, and that their Hearts and
 ' Hopes are set upon the next Successors :
 ' I know that most Men are apt by Nature

' to adore the Rising Sun. To omit other
 ' Instances, I know it by my own Experi-
 ' ence: While my Sister *Mary* had the
 ' Crown, how many wisht to see me seated
 ' on her Throne? How forward and eager
 ' were they for my Advancement? Nor
 ' am I ignorant what Hazards many would
 ' have run to have brought it about, in case
 ' I would have been consenting to it: And
 ' yet perhaps the same Men are not now of
 ' the same Mind towards me; but just like
 ' Children that in their Dreams rejoice at
 ' Apples being offer'd to them, but in the
 ' Morning when they awake and find their
 ' Disappointment, fall a crying: So while
 ' I was but Lady *Elizabeth*, I did abound
 ' with their Caresses, and those I chanc'd
 ' at any time to cast a favourable Look up-
 ' on, promis'd themselves, when I came to
 ' be Queen, Rewards, rather in measure to
 ' their Desires, than any Services they did
 ' me: But now the Event proves other
 ' than they hop'd for, some of them, it may
 ' be, would be well content to see an Alte-
 ' ration, in hopes of bettering their For-
 ' tune: For no Prince, how great soever
 ' his Revenues be, is able to fulfil the insa-
 ' tiable Desires of some Men; so that if
 ' our Subjects Affections do begin to cool
 ' upon us, or that their Minds alter in ex-
 ' pectation of greater Rewards, or any o-
 ' ther lighter Cause, what might we in
 ' reason

' reason expect from their malevolent Tem-
 ' pers, if they had a certain Successor to
 ' the Crown, to whom they might repair
 ' with their Complaints, and make their
 ' Grievances known, or in Rage turn ab-
 ' solutely over to? What Danger would
 ' you think me in to have so powerful and
 ' so near a Prince to my Successor? And as
 ' I should add Strength to her by establish-
 ' ing the Succession, so I must at the same
 ' time apparently lessen my own Security.
 ' Nor can these Dangers be obviated by
 ' any Caution of Policy or Tyes of Law;
 ' neither will Princes, whose Hopes of
 ' reigning are ascertain'd, confine them-
 ' selves within the Bounds of Law: So that
 ' for my own part, if my Successor were
 ' known to the World, I should never
 ' think my own Affairs or Fortunes in Se-
 ' curity.

These were the principal Matters that
 past in that Conference; and not many
 Days after the Ambassador humbly be-
 sought her Majesty's Answer to the Let-
 ters of the *Scotch* Nobility. ' I know not,
 ' says she, what to answer for the present,
 ' but that I like well of their Affection to
 ' their Queen, and their Care of her Con-
 ' cerns; but the Matter is so great, that I
 ' cannot for the present give any positive
 ' Answer: But when your Queen has made
 ' good what she so solemnly oblig'd her self

' to, in reference to the League, 'twill then
 ' be time enough for her to know how I
 ' stand affected to her. In the mean while
 ' I do not see how I can gratify her with-
 ' out a Diminution to my self. To this he
 disown'd the having any Command from
 his Queen to treat of that Matter, or that
 he ever had any Discourse with her about
 it, or that he offer'd any Reasons, as from
 his Queen, touching the Succession; but
 what he said was purely from himself, and
 that the Affirmance of that League by the
 Queen of *Scots*, which was confirm'd by
 her Husband in her Coverture, without
 the Consent of those whom it chiefly con-
 cerned, in being either ratify'd or annull'd,
 was not sure so great a Matter as to exclude
 both her and her Posterity from inheriting
 the Crown: Neither do I now enquire,
 says he, by whom, when, how, or by
 what Authority or Grounds that League
 was made upon, being commanded for the
 present not to touch at any of these things;
 but this I dare affirm, that tho' this had
 been ratify'd by her in observance of her
 Husband's Pleasure, yet since so great Con-
 cerns depended upon it, our Queen would
 in time find Arguments and Reasons how
 it might and ought to be dissolved. Nor
 yet do I speak this in the Queen's Name,
 but only to shew, that 'tis not without
 Reason, that our Nobles labour so much to
 have

have all Controversies absolutely extinguish'd, and a firm and perpetual League establish'd between us. At length, after several Discourses one way and the other concerning the League, the Queen was brought to agree, That Ambassadors should be appointed on both sides to review the League, and amend it, to this effect: That the Queen of *Scots* shall forbear hereafter to give the Arms of *England* in her Scutcheon, and from the Titles of *England* and *Ireland* while the Queen liv'd, or any Issue of her. On the other side, the Queen should take care, that neither her self, nor any of her own Posterity should do any thing to lessen or impeach the Queen of *Scots* Right to the Succession. This was in effect the whole Transaction of that Embassy. Whilst they were thus labouring for a Peace abroad, Matters began to tend towards Sedition at home: For, as we said before, the Queen was allowed a private Mass for her self and Family, which Business, when the Decree came to be publish'd, was among all the Nobility solely and singly oppos'd by the Earl of *Arran*; the Queen, tho' she dissembled it, being much offended at it. The next Offence she took was against the *Edinburghers*, who about *Michaelmas* us'd to choose their Magistrates; at which time *Archibald Douglas* being Provost, publish'd an Act of Council,

That no Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Mass-Priest or Obstinate Papist, should remain in Town, upon the Penalty denounced by Law against those that disobeyed. When this came to the Queen's Knowledge, without examining the Matter, she committed all the Magistrates to the Castle, commanding the Citizens to make choice of new ones, and put out a Proclamation, that the City should be free and open to all her faithful Subjects; not without some Derision and Scorn, that the most flagitious Knaves should pass under the Denomination of her faithful Subjects. When the Queen had by this found a greater Patience in her City than she did expect, she began by degrees to try them farther: Upon All-Saints Day she had Mass sung with all Pomp and Ceremony, whereas before she us'd to have it in a more reserved manner, and with less Adornments. This highly offending the Ministers of the Gospel, they made great Complaints of it in their publick Meetings, admonishing the Nobles of their Duty: And some few of them in private did debate whether they might not give check to Idolatry, that would in a short time spread to the Destruction of them all, and reduce the chief Magistrate by Force within the Prescript of the Law, when they find him affecting an unlimited Power. The Ministers did stedfastly persist in the
Opinion

Opinion approv'd in former Times, That the Chief Magistrate might be compell'd by Force to observe the Laws. The Nobles, either by Favour, or hopes of Honour or Reward, were somewhat cold; and yet it was adjudg'd and agreed to by those that were superior in Number and Quality. The Court was all this while asleep in Luxuries and Vice, that the Moss-Troopers, that inhabited the *English* Borders, could scarce awake 'em with their daily Waste and Plunder made upon the Countries next adjoining to them, where, as if they had a Licence to sack and spoil, they fill'd the neighbouring Parts with Blood and Slaughter; against whom *James*, the Queen's Brother, is dispatcht with full Authority, not so much, as many conceiv'd, for his Increase of Honour, as to expose him to Danger: For as his Power was a Grievance to the Queen, so was his Innocency much more, who us'd with Freedom to tell her of her Faults, and check her Motions to Arbitrary Power. But God was pleased to prosper his Endeavours beyond the Hopes of Men; for he caught 28 of the principal Robbers in a Snare, of some he took Hostages, and repress'd others with the sole Terror of his Name. The Queen in his Absence seem'd to have got some more Liberty; for she did not at all like the present State of Affairs, as well for the
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Controversies in Religion, as that things were managed with more Strictness than a young Woman, bred up in the corruptest Court in the World, could well away with, and that held a Government establish'd upon Laws to be dishonourable to Kings, whose Liberties consisted in the Slavery of others ; so that many times she could not forbear to express her Resentments, and by degrees began to lay the Foundation of an Arbitrary Power : For whereas the former Kings had us'd to place their Safety in the Fidelity of their own Lieges, she had a Design to set up a standing Guard ; but could not at first compass her Purpose, nor pretend any Occasion for it, but, that the Court would look greater by it, and that it was the Custom of foreign Kingdoms. The Carriage of her Brother, as being of so pious and sober a Temper, did the more afflict her, in regard there was no room left in it for Slander and Detraction ; nor did he give any Countenance to a licentious way of living ; and the People she perceived so far concerned at her Design, that they interpreted this Guard of her Person, as an Introduction to Arbitrary Power : Being therefore uneasy in her Mind, and resolving to try all Ways to bring her Purpose to effect, she hit at last upon this Project. She had another Brother whose Name was *John*, of a more licentious Tem-
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per than the other, and ambitious, and readily consenting to obey the Queen in every thing, and consequently fitter for the Purpose; with him therefore she consults in the Absence of *James* about the setting up a standing Force; and this they made the Occasion of it: They rais'd a Story over-night, as if *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, seeing the Court but thin, had a Design to come thither privately, and seize the Queen, and carry her to his Castle about 14 Miles off. This seem'd to them a likely kind of a Story, and might arise from the Queen's withdrawing her Countenance and Favour from him, or his excessive Passion for her, both which were well enough known to the World. The Project being laid, and the Alarm given, Parties of Horse were sent out to scour the neighbouring Fields and Roads most part of the Night, and the next Morning a Guard appears placed at the Court-Gate, some disdaining, others but laughing at it. The Authors of this Intrigue, altho' they knew it had small Credit with the People; yet they managed it among themselves with great Assurance, well knowing that none that were present would openly resist them. And now the Court began to plunge it self into Loosness and Debauchery, notwithstanding which the Law had still its even Course, and Offenders were brought

brought to Punishment: The chief Management of Affairs resting yet in the hands of Lord *James*, who by his Courage and Justice had endear'd himself to all: He consulted chiefly with *William Maicland*, a young Gentleman of excellent Parts, and one that had already given great Proofs of a wonderful Ingenuity, and rais'd a greater Expectation for the future. By these Mens wise and sober Management an universal Quiet was procured, as well at home as abroad, and the State of Things agreeable to the Desires of all good Men; the Factious having more occasion of repining than complaining. About this time a Matter was started in Council, which gave great Amusement to the whole Court for three Months. Those that in the late Times had been either Kings or Regents, had reduced the Revenues of the Crown (which at the best are not very large in *Scotland*) almost to nothing, and scarce any thing could satisfy the Queen's immoderate Expences: The Estates both of the Nobles and Commons were much wasted in the late troublesome Times, nothing remain'd for the Court to sponge upon, but the Priesthood, the chief whereof were sent for to Court, and some of the Nobility, to influence what they could, either by Persuasion or Authority. At last the Clergy, after much Debate, are got to grant a third

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Part of their Spiritual Incomes to the Queen, to maintain the Orthodox Ministers with, and the Remainder for her own Expence : which Project, as it pleas'd no Party, so it came to as little in the Conclusion. The dignify'd Clergy grumbled to lose any Part of their antient Possessions, and the Ministers hop'd for small Right at the Queen's hands, and little in effect came to the Queen ; for many had their Thirds forgiven, and great part of the Remainder went among the Household for Wages and other sort of Subsistence. That Winter she created her Brother *James*, Earl of *Marre*, which all good Men were pleas'd withal, to see Honour added unto Vertue, and he by this means brought to make a more considerable Figure, and carry greater Authority in the Management of publick Affairs : Some thought this Honour was confer'd upon him to stop his Mouth, lest he should find fault with what was done at Court in his Absence ; at the same time *Agnes Keith*, Daughter to the Earl of *Marishal*, was given him to Wife ; in celebrating which Marriage there was such Feasting and Excess, that gave great Offence to all his Friends, and afforded Matter of Detraction to his Enemies, and the rather in regard he had all his Life-time liv'd in great reserve. A while after the Earldom of *Murray* is bestow'd upon him
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in lieu of that of *Marre*, which was thought by antient Right to belong to *John Aireskin*. *Gordon* finding himself defeated, first of *Marre*, and afterwards of *Murray*, which Country he had had a long Command over, thought himself divested of his Patrimony, and set himself and Counsels to the Overthrow of his Rival, and to this he was several ways incited: For first he had possess himself of great Wealth and Revenues by indirect Means, having got the Government of *Murray*, after the Death of *James* the 5th's Brother, who dy'd without Issue, of those that had the Administration of Affairs, by means whereof the whole Country seem'd to acquiesce under his Authority, none standing in his way but one *Macatorth*, a Person of great Authority among the *Highlanders*; him he laid hands upon at unawares, and cast into Prison, but not being able to make out any Capital Crime against him, attacked him privately by supposititious Friends, who persuaded him that the only way to get his Liberty, and conciliate himself to *Gordon*, would be to refer himself and his Cause solely to his Arbitration: Which the poor harmless Man submitting to, *Gordon*, to take the Odium off himself, prevails with his Wife to undertake his Dispatch, which she did without hesitation, and in her Husband's Absence strook off his Head. By this

this Blow all the rest of the Neighbourhood, either out of Fear, or in hopes of Reward, submitted themselves to his Rule and Governance : So that he commanded without countroul in all the Northern Regions, and being of a proud and haughty Spirit, he could very ill endure such a Rival as the new Earl of *Murray*, and was therefore forward on all Occasions to raise Disturbances, censuring and reviling his Actions daily and openly, and presented the Queen with a Book that he had wrote against him; wherein, tho' but with weak and slender Arguments, he endeavour'd to render him guilty of affecting Arbitrary Power. In another Country about the same time *James Hepbourne* Earl of *Bothwell* was contriving the like Practices against the Earl of *Murray*; for he having spent his Youth, and wasted his Fortune in Debauchery and Riot, was brought to that Condition, either to raise a Civil War, or attempt some great and flagitious Enterprize to keep himself from starving : and casting about how to effect his Purpose, he thought the likeliest way to raise a Mutiny would be to set *Murray* at odds with the *Hamiltons*, establishing his Hopes upon the Ruin of either Party, he did not matter which; and therefore went first and apply'd himself to *Murray*, and endeavour'd to persuade him to extirpate the whole Race of
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the *Hamiltons*, as dangerous to the Queen, the Kingdom and himself; and to effect it promis'd his Help, alledging for Argument, that such a Fact could not be displeasing to the Queen, who, besides their nearness to the Crown, which all Kings look upon with jealous Eyes, was offended with them upon other accounts. But *Murray* being a Man whose Vertue and Integrity abhor'd the Mention of so villanous a Practice, he turned to the other Side, and offer'd his Service to the *Hamiltons* to murder *Murray*, whose Power was a great Eye-sore unto them; alledging, that he was the only Person that stood in their way, and that if he were taken off, the Queen must fall into their hands in spite of her teeth. The Design seem'd easy and feasible enough. The Queen lay then at *Falkland* for her Diversion, and often us'd to ride into the Park, either a hunting or to take the Air, but tenderly attended, where they might easily dispatch *Murray* unarmed, and at unawares, and seize upon the Queen. They all agree to the Fact, and prefix a time for doing it, except the Earl of *Arran*, who detesting such an abominable Piece of Treachery, gave private notice of it to the E. of *Murray*, who writing back to him by the same Messenger (*Arran* being accidentally out of the way) the Letters were deliver'd to his Father, who after a short Consultation
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with his Friends, clapt him up close Prisoner; yet notwithstanding he escap'd by Night, and went towards *Falkland*. Notice being given of his Escape, Horsemen are sent all about to apprehend him, and bring him back, whom he avoided by hiding himself in the Wood; and came the next Day to *Falkland*, and discover'd all. *Bothwell* and *Gawen Hamilton*, the principal Undertakers, were by the Queen's Command clapt up in *Falkland Castle*. The Plot being now laid open, and all things, upon strict Enquiry, agreeing with the Discovery that *Arran* had made, as appear'd by the Account that the Scouts sent out for that purpose brought in. *Arran* being ask'd to give a full Account of the Conspiracy, was a little troubled in his Mind; for being in love with the Queen almost to Madness, and a great Friend to *Murray*, he was willing to gratify them in what he could, and yet at the same time no less desirous to clear his Father from the Plot, being a Man not evil in himself, but of a Disposition easily to be drawn aside. Thus was he perplext with Love and Duty all that Night, which plainly appear'd in his Countenance next Day. He had other Reasons yet that contributed to his Disquiet; for having been brought up and living 'till then in Ease and Plenty suitable to the Greatness of his Family, his Father

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being a near Man in himself, and having got Advisers that fitted his Humour, had reduced him from a numerous Attendance to one single Servant. Those that had undertaken to do the Work were severally imprison'd; *Bothwell* in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and *Gawen* at *Sterling*, 'till their Trial: *Arran* was sent to be kept in the Arch-Bishop's Castle at *St. Andrews*, whither the Queen was shortly to come; whence he wrote to the Queen, both concerning himself and others, with that Prudence and Accuracy, that he was a little suspected of a feigned Madness, that he might clear his Father from the Plot. Against the rest his Accusation was positive, that when he was brought before the Council, and wanted Witnesses to make out the Fact, he offer'd to prove it against *Bothwell* by single Combate: His Father about that time first wrote to the Queen, and after came to *St. Andrews* to her, humbly beseeching her, that she would be pleased to allow him to bail out his Son, *Bothwell*, and *Gawen Hamilton*, but without effect; and the Queen at the same time took the Castle of *Dunbarton*, the strongest in all *Scotland*, which he had had the Custody of ever since his parting with the Regency, into her own hands. *Gordon* being *Murray's* profest Enemy, as we said before, was the more incens'd by this Disaster, seeing *Hamilton*,
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who was Father-in-law to his Son, engag'd in the Conspiracy, endeavour'd to raise a Mutiny in the Town, which was then but thin of People, in hopes by this means to draw out *Murray* to appease it with his Authority, where they might easily set upon him naked and at unawares, and so dispatch him in the Crowd: But missing of his Purpose there, he order'd some of his Retinue to come armed in the Evening to the Court, and surprize him as he came from thence (where the Queen often kept him very late) to his own Lodgings, and there cut his Throat. This being likewise discover'd to *Murray*, which he would not have credited, if it had not been plain before his Eyes, he took some few of his trustiest Friends with him, the better to avoid suspicion, and going along in the dark, steps upon two of these Men of *Gordon's* in their Arms; which being told the Queen, *Gordon* was summon'd to give an Account, who said, that ordering some of his Attendance to go home, they had arm'd themselves; but they staid, it seems, for Reasons he could not tell: So that Excuse being rather admitted than approv'd of, he is sent away. That Summer Ambassadors were mutually dispatch'd to procure an Interview at *Tork* between the two Queens of *England* and *Scotland*, in order to the composing of Matters in difference

betwixt them ; but when they were preparing for their Journy, the Business was put off 'till a further time, which was thought to be occasion'd, by reason that the Duke of *Aumale*, one of the Brothers of the *Guises*, had open'd the Letters of the *English* Ambassador in that Court ; and the Fleet that was to have brought over another Ambassador from *England*, was by his means set upon and routed : So that Matters tending now to a War between *England* and *France*, the Queen went from *St. Andrews* to *Edinburgh*, and sent for *Arran* thither, and shut him up in the Castle. In the mean time her Brother *James* went out and surprized 50 of the Heads of the Robbers, that were met at *Hawick* on the Market-day ; which strook such Terror in the rest, that the Country was in much greater quiet for the future. This Act, as it got him great Esteem and Honour among the better sort of Men, so it the more enflam'd the Minds of his Adversaries, to contrive his utter Ruin : For to the three great Families already his sworn Enemies, he brought upon himself a greater, which was the *Guises*, who conceiv'd, that the *Roman* Religion could never be restored in *Scotland* while he lived, and therefore were resolved to have him made away at any hand, which they had hopes of effecting upon several accounts. For first, the *French* that

that had been over with the Queen, made Reports at their Return of the great Wealth of *Gordon*, and his uneasy Temper, and what Help he had promised them in the re-establishing the Mass, stretching their Discourses a little beyond the Truth; which being taken into debate by the Papists in the Court of *France*, they resolved of this Course for the accomplishing their Business. They write to the Queen to give *Gordon* some Hopes, at least in shew, of her marrying his Son, that blinded with this Expectation, they might lead him whither they pleased; and did not stick to publish the Names of those they would have slain; to which they were incited by Letters both from the Cardinal and the Pope himself: For in regard the publick Revenues could not support the Queen's immoderate Expences, she sent for Mony to the Pope, under pretence of managing a War against the Deserters of the *Roman* Faith, who returned Answer in obscure Terms; but the Cardinal more plainly, that Mony should not be wanting for that purpose, provided those were put to Death, whom they had thought fit to proscribe. These Letters the Queen shew'd to *Murray*, and the rest that were design'd for Slaughter, either doubting that they might come to the Knowledge of it some other way, or to oblige them to give greater credit to her

sincere dealing with them. The rest being in preparation to fall on, the Queen feign'd her self desirous of visiting the Northern Parts of *Scotland*, which was propagated by *Gordon* with a Noble Invitation. At length when they came to *Aberdeen*, about the 13th of *August*, *Gordon's* Wife, a Woman of a Masculine Spirit and Head-piece, try'd all ways she could to find out the Temper of the Queen, sometimes to discover the bottom of her secret Thoughts, and other times to draw her gently to her Lure ; For she was not ignorant how suddenly the Counsel of Princes alters, nor how the Queen stood affected both to *Murray* and her Husband ; for she hated them both, and was sometimes divided in her Thoughts which she would have the first destroy'd : The Innocence of *Murray*, so adverse to her licentious Temper, she could not away withal ; and *Gordon's* Treachery, first against her Father, and then her Mother, was so notorious, that she hated his Person, and dreaded his Power : But the Pope's Letters and her Uncles prest hard for *Murray's* Death. This Delay of hers *Gordon* well observ'd, and desirous to remove it, renew'd his Promises to his Wife for re-establishing the *Roman* Worship, which tho' the Queen gave ready Ear unto, there was yet a Remora, tho' of no great weight, that held off her Assent, she said,

said, and that was this: Young *Gordon*, that for a Riot rais'd in *Edinburgh* some Days before, was committed, had made his Escape. Now she thought it stood not with her Honour to be reconcil'd unto him, unless he at least render'd himself a Prisoner at large for some few Days at *Sterling*: And this the Queen insisted on, not so much for the Reason she specially urged, as that when *Murray* was dispatcht, she might be upon a clear bottom, and not in danger of being compell'd to marry, whilst her Bridegroom was at such a distance from her. *Gordon* was desirous enough to pleasure the Queen, but was loth to deliver up his Son in nature of a Hostage, to a Person whom he knew averse to his Designs, which was *John* Earl of *Marre*, Uncle to *Murray*, and was then Governour of *Sterling* Castle; uncertain too how the Queen would resent the Murder, when committed. Whilst their Wits were thus imploy'd to intrap each other, not without a mutual Suspicion; and the Queen profess'd the Fault lay not at her door, that the Business went not on, and yet was not overforward in the Dispatch of it; young *Gordon*, to shew the Help he could contribute to the Matter, and watchful upon all Occasions, had armed about 1000 of his Neighbours and Tennants, who were fit for any bold and villainous Design, and had posted them in

Quarters near the Town: But *Murray*, tho' he was not very well attended, yet being warned by his Friends, both in the *French* and *English* Court, that these Preparations were for his Destruction, and durst not in the meantime trust the Queen too far, set and visited the constant Guards at Court every Day, and at Night appointed one or two of his own Servants to watch within his Chamber; so that having certain Notice of his Enemies treacherous Designs, and as safely guarded by his Friends, he eluded all their Purposes without Noise or Tumult.

Much about this time *Bothwell* made his Escape out of *Edinburgh* Castle, being let down by a Rope from a Window. Matters being thus in suspence, by mutual Jealousies at *Aberdeen*, as the Queen was determin'd to go on her Progress, upon *John Lesly's* Invitation, a Favourite of *Gordon's*, she turn'd off to his Castle, about 12 Miles distance from the Town. This being a lonely Place, was thought by the *Gordons* fittest for the Murder; but *Lesly*, who was privy to their Counsels, besought them not to fix so infamous a Brand upon himself and Family, as that the Queen's Brother, a Man not evil in himself, nor an Enemy to him, should be betray'd and murder'd in his House. The next Night pass'd in quiet at *Rothimay*, a Town in *Aberneeth*, because

because they had design'd the Day following to pass some time at *Straboggy*, a Castle belonging to the *Gordons*; and so the Murder was put off 'till then, in which Place they would have all things more in their own Power: So that as they went along, *Gordon* held the Queen a great while in discourse about his Son, whose Pardon he requested of her, in regard he was but young, and ignorant of the Laws, and therefore made his Escape from Prison, where he had been committed, not for any Crime, but barely for a Riot, which he was not the occasion of. The Queen on the other side alledging, that it would be a Diminution to her Authority, unless his Son would render himself, tho' but a Prisoner at large, in another Place, that by this Expiation of his Fault he might be more honourably releas'd. *Gordon*, tho' he would not for a small Matter have lost so fair an Opportunity of perfecting his wicked Purpose, yet did obstinately refuse it, either lest the Queen should not approve of the Murder, when 'twas over, and so lay the Fault upon his Son; or if the Matter were done by her Allowance in the Absence of his Son, yet still the young Man must lie at stake for it. This Stubbornness of his did so offend the Queen, that tho' she was come within Sight of the House, she turn'd another way, and so the Execution of the Plot, which

which they thought they had so cunningly contrived, was again put off 'till they came to *Inverness*: For besides that *Gordon* was Sheriff of the Town, and Governour of the Queen's Castle there, that stands on a Hill, and Commands the Town, all the Country about was at his devotion. The Queen purposing to lodge in the Castle, was deny'd Entrance by the Guard, which put her in some Fear, in regard she must be forced to lie all Night in a naked Town, whilst young *Gordon* had 1000 Men in Arms, besides, the whole Country, if occasion requir'd, were ready at his Call. The Queen advising what was fittest to be done in this Exigency, set strict Guards on all the Passages into the Town, and order'd the Ships that brought her Provision, to be ready in the Harbour, that she might repair to them, if occasion were. In the dead of the Night *Huntly* sent some Scouts into the Town, who passing the first Guard, which they let them do on purpose, when they had them all within their compass, they fell upon them, and took them every Man. The Clang *Catton*, as soon as they understood they were to fight against the Queen, forsook *Huntly*, and came the next Day over to her into the Town. The Queen's Danger being nois'd abroad, brought great Numbers in to her Assistance, and chiefly the *Frasiers* and *Monroes*,

Monroes, great Families in those Parts : And now seeing her self pretty well out of danger, and that her Numbers increased, she laid Siege to the Castle, which not being in a Posture of Defence, was yielded to her. The chief of those that kept it being executed, the rest were dismissed. Then the Nobility flocking in from all Parts, those that liv'd farthest off were graciously dismissed, and she came four Days after with a sufficient Guard of those that remain'd, to *Aberdeen* ; where being freed of her Fears, she is highly inrag'd against *Gordon*, and bent upon Revenge, embracing her Brother with all imaginable Shew of Kindness, making him believe that she depended wholly upon him, endeavours to persuade the World that her Preservation was bound up in his. When *Gordon* now perceiv'd that the Face of Affairs at Court was changed ; *Murray*, lately design'd for Slaughter, now in greatest Favour ; himself fallen from his great Hopes of Honour and Advancement, into the deepest Hatred and Disdain, and so far engag'd, that there was no possibility of his Retreat, or obtaining of a Pardon, betakes himself to desperate Counsels, and thought there lay no other way to his Security, but by getting the Queen into his Power by any way ; and altho' she might be offended with him for a time, yet he was not out of hopes

hopes to work upon her at last by Flatteries, and other servile Applications, and by marrying of her to his Son ; which Design was thought to be encouraged by her Uncles : Whereupon consulting with his Friends, he resolv'd to take *Murray* out of the way, whatever came of it ; for he being made away, there rested none to whom the Queen might securely intrust the Government, or that knew how to manage it, if they had it : The Hopes of effecting which was given him by his Spies at Court, and chiefly *George Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, who being constantly at Court, gave him daily Intelligence of all Occurrences there, and did not only observe the Opportunities of Time and Place, but likewise offer'd him his own Assistance ; and to further the Design, the Town was open, and fit for a Conspiracy. The Citizens, either atton'd with Favours, or urg'd by Necessity, or out of Fear not daring to meddle ; the *Highland* Aids sent home, that *Murray* was but slenderly accompany'd, and those he had too were brought a great way off, and not much to be fear'd by him, and all the neighbouring Country still in his Power ; the Matter might be done without much Bloodshed, one only Man taken out of the way, and the Queen brought into their Power, the other would soon be healed. Invited by these Circumstances,

stances, as he was upon the point to execute his Purpose, by the intercepting of Letters from *Sutherland* and *John Lesly*, all comes to be discover'd. *Sutherland* flies, and *Lesly* acknowledging his Fault, obtains Pardon, and was ever after faithful to the Queen, and her Son after her. *Huntly* understanding what was done at Court, retired from the Place he had posted himself in with a considerable Number of Men to expect the Issue of the Business, into the *Highlands*; but having a great many of the Nobility thereabouts that were come to the Court, that had a great Respect for him, trusting to their Promises, he alter'd his Mind, and in a Place well-fortify'd by Nature, resolved to abide the Issue of a Battle. *Murray*, that had not much above 100 Horse that he could confide in (the rest of his Number being Persons that inclin'd more to *Huntly* than to him, and that before had given the Enemy a Sign of their perfidious Purpose, by putting every Man a Bush of Ling in his Hat, and had promis'd *Murray*, that he should only stand by and look on, and they would do the Work themselves;) when they came in sight of one another, and that *Huntly's* Men had discover'd the Sign given by the others, they threw away their Lances the better to lighten themselves for the Pursuit, and came with speedy March against the Enemy,

my, who flying, according to Agreement, upon *Murray's* Men that had the Reserve, in hopes to disorder him. *Murray*, who saw no hopes in flying, and nothing remaining but an honourable Death, call'd out to his Men to rest their Lances, and keep them off; whereupon they were forced to fly on each hand of them in great Disorder: The Enemy was at their heels; but finding *Murray* to make good his Post, and not being able to break his Body, who kept them off at Lances Point; and having before thrown theirs away, were forced to fly as fast as they pursu'd; which the former Traitors perceiving, turn'd head again, and to redeem their Credits, follow'd them with a fierce Pursuit; and the whole Slaughter of that Day was attributed to them, which was to about the Number of 120 Persons, and 100 were taken Prisoners, among whom were *Huntly* and his two Sons *John* and *Adam*. *Huntly* being old, corpulent and puffy, was stifled in the Throng, and died in the hands of those that took him. The rest, tho' it was very late, were brought to *Aberdeen*, not one being slain on the other Side. *Murray*, who had order'd the Minister of the Church to attend his coming, in the first place return'd his humble Thanks to God Almighty for his merciful Deliverance, and went in the next place to wait upon the Queen, who

who receiv'd him with great Kindness, but made no shew at all of Joy or Exultation, either in Word or Gesture. The next Day *John Gordon* is put to Death, which variously exercis'd the Minds of Men; for he was a handsome young Gentleman in his Prime, deceived with the false Hopes of a Royal Match; and which did move the greater Compassion for him, was miserably mangled by an unskilful Headsmen. The Queen beheld his Death with many Tears, and being skilful at disguising of her Thoughts, her Sorrows met with various Interpretations; and the rather, because most Men knew she hated her Brother no less than she did *Huntly*. *Adam* being but young, was pardoned; *George*, the eldest of them all, betook himself to his Father-in-law *Hamilton*, either to hide himself there, or to get a Pardon thro' his Intercession; many of *Gordon's* Dependants were, according to their Offences, either fined or banish'd; some others, after a little time, received again into Grace and Favour; and so Matters being either compos'd, or at leastwise still'd, the rest of the Winter pass'd over in quiet. *Bothwell* is commanded by a Herald at Arms to render himself into Custody, from whence he had escap'd, and upon his refusal is denounced Rebel. When the Queen was come back to *Perth*, she was humbly apply'd to by
James

James Hamilton for a Pardon for his Son-in-law, who receiving a gracious kind of Answer, was enforce'd notwithstanding to deliver him up, and he is sent Prisoner to *Dunbarre*, and from thence commanded up to *Edinburgh*, about the latter end of *January* in the Year 1563. and there arraign'd of High Treason, and condemn'd, and sent back again to *Dunbarre*.

And now the Time approach'd for sitting of the Parliament, which was indicted on the 20th of *May*. The Day being come, the Queen came to the House in her Royal Robes, with the Crown upon her Head; in which Session some Acts pass'd in favour of the Professors of the Reformed Religion, and Punishment awarded against Clippers and Coiners. The Queen spent the rest of the Summer in hunting in *Athol*. About the latter end of Autumn *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, comes home by the Queen's Permission, 22 Years after he was so unhandfomly deceiv'd by the *French King*, as we have formerly mention'd; and the next Year, in *January* 1564. the Act for his Banishment rescinded by a special Session order'd for that purpose, and himself restored to his Goods and Possessions; which the Queen solicited her self with all imaginable Care, and Commemoration of all his former Respects and Services to her in her Infancy; by whose Help
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ſhe was deliver'd from her Enemies, and ſeated on the Throne, and about the middle of *February* came his Son *Henry* out of *England*, having obtain'd a Paſport for three Months, whom the Queen received with great Civility, being her Aunt's Son, and therefore as well conſiderable in his Birth, as he was handſom in his Perſon: And when by frequent Converſe ſhe began to grow into a liking of him, a Report was preſently begot of her taking him to be her Husband; to which the Nobility were not averſe, in regard of the great Benefit that might from thence accrue to all *Britain*, if the Queen of *England* would conſent to it: She being in the ſame Degrees of Kindred to them both, was ſo far from oppoſing the Match, that ſhe deſired to be eſteem'd the Author of it, and her ſelf to have the Thanks; conceiving too it might be ſomething in her way to bring the Power of her Kinſwoman within a leſſer compaſs, leſt ſhe might otherwiſe grow too big, and ſeem to threaten or eclipse her Glory. But that which gave the great Delay, and was like in probability to turn all things topsy turvy, was a Matter which we muſt look a little back the better to unfold. There was among the Attendants then in Court one *David Riſio*, born at *Turin* in *Savoy*, whoſe Father was a good honeſt Man, but very poor, and by teaching of

Musick did hardly enough sustain himself and Family. This Man having no other Estate to leave unto his Children, which he had of both Sexes, bred them up to Singing, among whom this *David* being a handsom young Fellow, and of a good natural Voice, his Father took some pains to instruct him in the Grounds of Musick, who afterwards, in hopes of bettering his Fortunes, went to the Duke of *Savoy's* Court at *Nice*, where missing the Entertainment that he hop'd for, and in a very poor Condition, casting about which way to help himself, at last he lights of *Moretti*, whom the Duke was sending into *Scotland*, just as he was fitting out himself for his Journey; he put himself into his Train, and comes over with him. *Moretti*, who was not overstock'd with Wealth, thought to make some Advantage of this Fellow; but he, after a little stay there, was resolv'd to try his Fortune; and the rather, because the Queen was said to delight much in Singing, being her self not unskilful in Musick: Therefore to make his way the better to her Presence, he made an Interest with the Singing-men, who were most of them *French*, that they would admit him among them, where after he had been once or twice heard and approv'd of, he was enter'd into the Band, where at last having found the length of the Queen's Foot,

partly

partly by Flattery, and partly by telling Tales of the other Servants, he came in a short time to be as much favour'd by the Queen, as he was hated by the rest of the Family: And not contented with these first Smiles of Fortune, when he had either brought his Equals under, or rid himself of them by private Accusations, he began to rise by little and little, and screw himself into greater Employments, 'till he came at last to be her Secretary, and upon that account had opportunity of frequenter Access, and privater Transactions with the Queen. And now the sudden Exaltation of a beggarly Fellow to so considerable a State of Wealth, whose Fortune did far surpass his Vertue, and was as much exceeded by his arrogant despising of his Equals, and Emulation of those above him, afforded Matter of Discourse to all. The Flattery of the greatest part of the Nobility, that sought his Friendship by cringing and Subserviency, walking before his Doors, and watching his going out and coming in, did not a little contribute to his Vanity, only *Murray*, that knew no Disimulation, did not only refuse to flatter him; but on the contrary would often look upon him with Disdain and Scorn, which gave no less Offence to the Queen her self, than it did to Seignior *David*, who the better to make his Party good against the

Hatred of the Nobles, apply'd himself to the young Gentleman that was in prospect of being Husband to the Queen, with all the Flattery and Officiousness imaginable; and had wrought himself into so great a Familiarity with him, that he became his Companion both at Bed and Board, and Partaker of his greatest Secresies, and persuaded the unwary Youth, who was easily led to believe what he wish'd might come to pass, that he was the chief Author of the Queen's Affection to him, and at the same time was careful to sow all the Seeds of Discord betwixt him and *Murray*, assuring himself, that if he were once thrown out, no body else could interpose or hinder him from doing what he pleased. And now Reports began to fly abroad, not only of the Marriage, but also of *Henry's* private Assignations with the Queen, and untoward Discourses of her Familiarity with Seignior *David*. *Murray*, who got nothing but Ill-will for his tender Admonitions to her, resolv'd to leave the Court, lest he might be suspected of having a hand in these Transactions. Nor was the Queen much troubled at his Absence at that time, especially when she was setting up a Party that had always been in opposition to him: For she recall'd from Banishment *Bothwell* out of *France*, and *George Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland* out of *Flanders*, and releas'd the other

George

George Gordon Son of *Huntly* out of Prison, and restored him to his former Dignities. As soon as *Bothwell* was come over, *Murray* accused him of some late Conspiracies against him, discover'd by some Persons of Credit of his Acquaintance in *France*. The thing appear'd plainly malicious and barbarous. When the Day of Trial was near at hand, the Queen endeavour'd in the first place to persuade her Brother to let fall the Prosecution, to which he would in no wise hearken, as conceiving the Issue of it highly concern'd his Reputation. She then sent threatening Letters to the Nobles, forbidding them to appear upon the Summons, and sent for *Alexander* Earl of *Glen-carne*, a great Friend of *Murray's*, on his Journey not far from *Sterling*, to come out of his way to her. But however there was so unanimous a Concurrence of all good Men, that *Bothwell* condemn'd before-hand by his own Conscience, publicly detesting his Guilt, durst not appear at his Day of Trial. This Affection of the People did so incense the Queen against her Brother, that it ripen'd the Design of his Destruction formerly resolv'd upon, which was to be contriv'd in this manner: *Murray* was to be summon'd to *Perth*, where the Queen then was, with a small Retinue, where *Darby* was to enter into Discourse with him: And no body doubting but *Murray* would

speake plainly out, the Business should come to a Quarrel; whereupon *David Risto* should first strike him, and the rest immediately clap in upon him, and kill him.

Murray, who had notice of this Conspiracy from some Friends at Court, resolv'd to go, whatever happen'd; but being a second time advertis'd by *Patrick Ruven*, he turned out of his way, and went to his Mother's, to *Lacklevin*, where falling ill of a Looseness, he excus'd himself upon that account, and tarried there. In the mean time several of his Friends coming to visit him, a Report was presently raised, that he staid there on purpose to intercept the Queen and *Darby* in their return to *Edinburgh*. Scouts were sent abroad, who found the Coast clear: yet notwithstanding the Queen made such haste, and shewed so much Fear in her Journey, as if she had been in most apparent Danger.

The Marriage being now at hand, that the Queen's Affection might in some measure seem warranted by publick Consent, a great part of the Nobles are conven'd to *Sterling*; but especially those whom they knew would either readily consent, or at least durst not give Opposition to it; whereof a great many being call'd to Council, did assent, provided there might be no Innovation in the Religion generally receiv'd: Most of them agreed to it without any Exception,

Exception, purely because they thought it would be kindly taken by the Queen ; only *Andrew Stuart of Ockiltree* did openly declare, that he would never consent to have a Popish King. *Murray* was not in himself averse to the Marriage, being the Occasion of the young Gentleman's calling out of *England* ; but he well foresaw the great Stir that Business would occasion, if it should be done without the Consent of the Queen of *England* ; and promis'd that he wou'd engage, that she should not only consent, but promote it too, in case the Business of Religion were taken care of ; but when he perceiv'd there could be no likelihood of a free Debate in that Convention, he rather chose to be absent, than to give an Opinion that might be fatal to himself, and unprofitable to the Publick : For 'twas become a common Question, whether the Queen, now her Husband was dead, could marry any other that she had a mind to : Some conceiving that Liberty could not well be deny'd to the Queen, which is allow'd to inferior Persons ; others on the contrary affirming, that Case to be different in the Heirs of Kingdoms, who do not only chuse a Husband for themselves, but a King for the People ; and that it was more reasonable for the People to chuse a Husband for a single Woman, than for a single Woman to impose a King upon the

People. In *July* comes an Ambaffador from *England*, to let them know, the Queen, who was equally ally'd to both, did wonder they fhould be fo hafty in a Matter of that weight, without making her acquainted with it; and that ſhe defir'd 'em to take a little longer Time for the Conſideration of it, which might perhaps be better for both Kingdoms. But nothing being done in this Embaſſy, another follow'd by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who in the Name of the Queen of *England*, put *Lenox* and his Son in mind of their Paſports, and that they had ſtaid beyond their time, and commanded 'em to return home, upon pain of Banishment and Forfeiture of their Eſtates: But notwithstanding theſe Threats, they ſtill purſu'd their Buſineſs. Mean while the Queen thinking there would be too great a Diſparity in the Match, if ſhe, that had lately been the Wife of a mighty King, and was her ſelf the Heir of a great Kingdom, ſhould marry to a private young Man, not yet enobled with any honourable Title, iſſues out an Ediſt for proclaiming *Darby Duke of Rothſay* and Earl of *Roffe*. The Match too was haſten'd on by the Predictions of ſome Witches in both Kingdoms, which foretold good Luck to attend the Kings, if they were marry'd before the end of *July*; but otherwiſe they threaten Loſſes and Reproaches to befall them. Rumors were likewise ſpread abroad
of

of the Queen of *England's* Death, and within what time it should come to pass; which Prediction did not so much denote a Prophecy, as a Conspiracy of her Subjects against her. Another great Reason of the Queen's speeding on the Match, was the Fear she had of her Uncles coming to the Knowledge of it before it was concluded, and giving Obstruction to it, because she knew they were against it: For since the Holy League was set on foot, for ruining all that dissented from the *Roman* Faith, and that the Duke of *Guise*, who was design'd to be Head thereof, had let the Rains loose to his immoderate Hopes; he intended by his Niece's means to make such Disturbances in *Brittain*, as should hinder them from sending any Assistance to their Friends on the other Side of the Water. But Seignior *David*, who was all in all with the Queen, arguing the great Benefits this Match would bring to the Catholick Cause, by reason that *Darby* and his Father both were fierce Papists, and greatly favour'd and ally'd in both the Kingdoms; strikes up the Business: For he saw, that if it were done by the Consent of the Queen of *England* and the Nobility of *Scotland*, two things would fall a-cross to him. First, he must have no Thanks for bringing it about: And secondly, Care would undoubtedly be taken for the Preservation of the Reformed Religion.

But

But if the Queen adher'd to the Council of *Trent*, he promis'd to himself both Honours and Benefices, Money without measure, and Power without controul: Therefore he try'd all ways to hasten on the Marriage, and did at last effect it: The *Scots* not much pleas'd, and the *English* highly offended at it.

Upon the nine and twentieth of *July* *Henry Stuart* is marry'd to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and after Silence made, follow'd an Acclamation of, *God bless Henry and Mary, Kings of Scotland*: And the next Day they were again proclaim'd at *Edinburgh* by the Common Cryer; which thing did not only offend the Nobility, but the People also, many looking upon it as a thing of very ill Example: For to what purpose is it to call a Council for the Creation of a King, and never ask their Opinion, nor make use of their Authority at all? To have a Cryer to supply the Place of a Senate, and confine their Consultation within an *O Yes*? For thus, it was not an Act of Council, but rather a Trial how the *Scots* would submit to an Arbitrary Power; which Suspicion arose from the want of the absent Lords; for almost all the chief of the Nobility were away, as the Duke of *Chastelherault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Roths*, and many more of great Quality and Wealth; to whom Heralds were sent to command their

their immediate Attendance, or otherwise
 to denounce them banish'd : The greater
 part of them went off into *Argile*, their
 Enemies being all recal'd again to Court ;
 so that having made all necessary Prepara-
 rations against the Rebels, the Kings, ac-
 company'd with the Number of 4000, came
 to *Glasgow* : The Rebels kept at *Pasley*,
 where they had several Consultations, ac-
 cording to the various Inclination of Par-
 ties. The Kings sent a Herald to demand
 the Castle of *Hamilton*, who returning back
 without the Business done, they prepar'd
 for War. The other Party were divided
 among themselves in their Opinions : The
Hamiltons, who were the greatest Men of
 Wealth in those Parts, declaring that there
 could be no firm Conditions or Assurances
 of Peace, without the Kings were taken
 quite away : For while they were in safety,
 nothing could be hop'd for, but new Wars,
 new Conspiracies, or a counterfeit Peace
 more dangerous than open War : That the
 Injuries of private Persons might be wip'd
 off, either by Sollicitations or Recompence;
 but the Enmity of Kings could never be
 assuaged but by Death. *Murray* and *Glen-*
carne, that found the other Party not so re-
 gardful of the publick as their own private
 Advantages, as being the next Heirs, in
 case the Queen should be cut off, were a-
 verse both to the Murder, and to the Reign
 of

of the *Hamiltons*, which they had felt before to be both covetous and cruel, were for more temperate Advices; for the Difference was not as yet arriv'd to Blood, the Business being but a War of Disputation, not of Arms; and therefore advis'd that the Matter, if possible, might be compos'd upon fair Terms: To further which, there did not want some in the King's Camp that were inclinable to peaceful Counsels, and would not forsake those that endeavour'd to secure themselves by necessary Arms. For the Kings, they perhaps, thro' Inadvertency of Youth, did not so well foresee the Event of things; but howsoever they had not transgress'd so far, as to shake or unhinge the publick State of Things: If they had committed some small Faults that might bring a Blame upon them, those might be cured with lesser Remedies than Death: That they had an Observation fit to be transmitted to Posterity, *That in the Lives of Kings, their secret Faults ought to be past over in silence, their doubtful ones should have a fair Construction put upon them, and their apparent ones ought to be born withal, so far as they do not bring a Ruin upon the Publick.*

This Reason giving Satisfaction to the greater part, the rest of the *Hamiltons*, excepting the Duke himself, resolv'd to be quiet, who with 16 Horse staid with the other Peers. The Party beginning now to
moulder

moulder away, so as they durst not adventure to engage the Enemy, they remov'd that Night to *Hamilton*, and marching next Day to *Edinburgh*, there to advise about carrying on the War, where the Castle firing upon them, and their own Friends a great way off, and News brought 'em of the King's marching close after them in the Rear; upon the Entreaties and Promises of *John Maxwell* of *Hereis*, they take their way to *Dumfrize*. The Kings returning to *Glasgow*, they appoint the Earl of *Lenox* Lieutenant in all the Western Parts towards *Ireland*, and take their Progress to *Sterling*, and thence to *Fife*, exacting an Oath from the greater part of the Nobility for their faithful Assistance, in case any Forces should fall in upon them out of *England*; the rest are fin'd or banish'd. The Goods of those that fled into *England* were seiz'd wherever they were found, and Commissions issued out into all Parts for enquiring into the remainder of the Plot; and so the Army march'd away the 9th of *October* from *Edinburgh* towards *Dumfrize*.

Maxwell, who 'till that time had taken part with those that were against the Kings, thinking this a fit Opportunity to do his own Business, went to meet 'em as an humble Suppliant for the Party, and treated with 'em for part of his Father-in-law's Estate, which he was very desirous of, and which, he being a solicitous Person, and of great Address, easily obtaining, return'd to the
Rebels,

Rebels, and told them that he could not help them, but that they must look to themselves. *England* was near at hand, if they would go thither, when Matters were a little settl'd, he would follow them, and put all his Fortunes in the same risque with theirs: And having in the mean time got 1000 *l.* of *Murray*, by way of Advance-Mony for raising Forces, he musters up a few of his own Domesticks, and those must stand in place of his listed Soldiers. The Kings having by their own Approaches, and the Accession of *Henry's*, struck Terror into the adverse Party, and settl'd their Affairs to their own liking, and driven away the Heads of the Faction (the rest endeavouring to save themselves as well as they could) return'd to *Edinburgh* about the latter end of *October*. And now, 'till the opening of the Spring, all things in *Scotland* were at quiet; a Parliament was summon'd to meet in *March* for degrading the Exiles, and confiscating their Goods, which could not be done but by Act of Parliament.

David having now got the Court rid of the greatest part of the Nobility, the better to establish his immoderate Hopes, plied the Queen with his weak, but desperate Advices, repeating to her the Necessity that lay upon her to reduce the Heads of the Faction by Arms: That if a few were taken off, the rest would not dare to stir. But fearing the Queen's Standing Forces, which

which were *Scots*, would not easily consent to the Murder of the Nobles ; he therefore gets 'em turn'd off, and endeavour'd all he could to fill the Guards with *Foreigners*, which is commonly the first Step to Arbitrary Power. First they propose the supplying the Vacancies with *Germans*, in regard of that Peoples great Fidelity to their Masters ; but *David* thought it more proper, after some Considerations, to confer that Charge upon *Italians* ; first, because being of his own Country, he thought they would be more within his Power ; and then being of no Religion, but Persons to whom Right and Wrong were equally indifferent, they might be the easier led into any Disturbances upon occasion, or to the executing any flagitious Act they should be put upon : And also being poor and vicious Fellows, born and bred under absolute Princes, and accustom'd to treacherous and inhuman Wars, and far from home in *Brittany*, had nothing here to care for, seem'd fittest for any black Design : So that he began to call over his disbanded Countrymen out of *Flanders*, and other Places of the Continent ; but singly and at several times, lest his Design should be discover'd, whom it became more dangerous to offend than the Queen her self. But how as *David's* Power grew greater with the Queen, so the King grew more despis'd ; for as she was rash and heady in
her

her Marriage, she now began to be as hasty in her Repentance of it, and every day gave new and discoverable Tokens that her Mind was alter'd : For when presently after the Marriage she had caus'd him to be proclaim'd King by a publick Cryer, without the publick Consent, and all Letters Patents run in the King and Queen's Name: A little after, tho' both their Names were still kept in, yet the Method was alter'd, and the Queen's Name mention'd first, and the King's after it. At last the Queen, to divest her Husband of all Power of obliging, had order'd, that whilst he was abroad a hunting or hawking, Business should either be omitted, or not dispatch'd in proper time; so that it were better she should sign for both, that he might enjoy his Sports, and publick Business find no delay in his Absence; which he taking in good part, as not being willing to offend the Queen, is upon light Causes sent away, that he might be a Stranger, as well to the Consult, as the Knowledge of publick Affairs; and the conferring of all Favours rest upon the Queen. Thus she had contriv'd by degrees, to bring the King, whose Friendship was not beneficial, nor his Anger dreadful to any, into open Contempt. And to make the Matter yet more scandalous, *David* is substituted in his Place, to sign Matters for him with an Iron Signet made for the purpose,

The King not only thus divested of all publick Care, but least he should be a troublesome Presider in their secret Councels, is thrust out a hawking in a sharp Winter into *Beblix* with an Attendance scarce befitting a private Gentleman, where he might be rather called the *Quarry* than the *Faulkconer*: In which time there fell so great a Snow, that in Places, as that was, both scarce of Provision, and infested too with Robbers, a Man always bred up in Court, and accustomed to a freer Dyet, had been in Danger of starving, if the Bishop of *Orcades* had not by chance come thither, who knowing the Country, had brought some Wine and Vi-ctuals for his own Provision. Neither was the Queen by this means content to bring her *David* from an ignominious Obscurity, and honour him publicly before the People, but she likewise contrived a Way of conferring her domestick Graces on him: For whereas she had for some Months past admitted more Persons to her Table, than formerly she us'd to do, that *David's* Presence there among so many, might be less scandalous, thinking under a popular Pretence of allowing so many to eat with her, there would be less notice taken, and People would be so us'd to it in time, as not to wonder so much at the Insolence of it, but might be brought by Degrees to suffer that or more.

It came to that at last, that he with one or two more, eat constantly with her, and that the Streightness of the Place might in some measure lessen the Reproach, she sometimes eat in her Closet, and sometimes at *Dauids* Lodgings, but this remedy for lessening the Envy of it, did increase the Shame. Suspicions grew hot, and afforded Matter for unhappy talk : And to add to the thoughts of Men already enough inflam'd, his Furniture, Cloaths, and Horses of all Kinds, exceeded far the Kings ; which was the more indecent in this Respect, that his Dress and Equipage could never mend his Face, but that perpetually disgrac't 'em both. The Queen therefore when she could not amend the defects of Nature, by all the Accessions of Wealth and Honour, she endeavour'd to advance him into the Peerage, that she might by this accidental Lustre, gloss over both the Baseness of his Birth, and the Defects of his Person ; as well for other Reasons, as principally for this, that by gaining a Right to vote in Parliament, he might bring them over to the Queen's Devotion. But as he was to be advanc't by Degrees, lest he should appear either an indigent or Mercenary member, an Essay is made upon some Land lying near *Edinburg* call'd *Malvel*. The Laird of the Ground and his Father-in-Law, and other of his Friends that were great with him,

him, are invited to the Court: The Queen treats with the Laird of the Place, for his grant of it; and with his Father-in-Law and Friends to perswade him to it: But when they found the Business would not take, the Queen lookt upon the Refusal as an Affront done to her; and which was yet more fatal, *David* took it ill. People then began (for these Matters were not done in secret) to lament the present state of Things, and to presage every Day, that worse would follow; if Persons of ancient Nobility and Honours should be thrust out of their Possessions, and Seats of their Ancestors, at the Pleasure of a hungry Upstart. Many of the elder sort calling to Mind and discoursing of the times when *Cockeran*, after having impiously slain the King's Brother, was from a Mason made Earl of *Marre*, and kindled those sparks of Civil War that were not quenched but by the Death of the King, and almost Ruin of the Kingdom.

As these Things were done openly, many more mutter'd in Clandestine Talk, as is usual in matters not so honest as they should be; The King resolving to believe no Body 'till he had tried himself, having heard that *David* was gone into the Queen's Chamber, he went to a little Door, which he always kept the Key of himself, and found it bolted on the inside, which was more than usual,

whereupon he knockt, but no Body answering, he was so enraged that he could hardly sleep all Night, and from that time consulted with some few about him, for there were but few he could confide in, (for the rest he knew to be corrupted by the Queen, and put to him as Spies upon his Words and Actions) how to rid himself of *David*. They approve his Resolution, but could not think of an Expedient, how to bring the Business well about; the Consult held some Days: meantime the other Servants that were not admitted to it, suspecting what they were about to do, acquainted the Queen with it; and promised to bring her where she might catch them in their Consultation: And were as good as their Words; for watching the time when the King shut all the rest out, and had only those Servants with him that he did confide in, the Queen pretending to go through his Chamber to her own, surpriz'd him on the suddain, with the Associates of his Council; and after she had bitterly inveigh'd against him, and severely chid his Servants, she told 'em their Consults were in vain; that she knew all their Designs, and would in time provide sufficient Remedies against them. As things were at this pass the King imparted his Grief to his Father, where, upon Consideration had of his Condition, the likeliest path out of these Evils

Evils was, to reconcile himself to the Nobility that were present, and to get those that were absent to be recall'd; but this requir'd haste, for the time drew near that the Queen had determined to condemn the absent Lords: for 'twas to that purpose she had call'd the Parliament. The Ambassadors of *France* and *England* both dissuading her, as knowing the Offenders had not done any thing that might deserve so severe an Animadversion, and were apprehensive of the Dangers that might ensue upon it. About the same time came long Letters from the Queen of *England*, wherein many things were courteously and prudently discussed concerning the present State of Affairs in *Scotland*, wherein she endeavour'd with Gentleness and Love to moderate the Anger of her Kinswoman: Which because the Nobles knew were come, no Man doubted the Ends that they were written for: The Queen counterfeiting a greater Disposition of Civility to them than ordinary, began to read, when in the midst of her Career, *David* admonisht her openly that she had read enough and bid her stop: which Act appear'd to them all, rather haughty than new, as not being ignorant of his imperious Carriage to her, and that he would sometimes rebuke her more sharply than her Husband durst. At that time warm Debates arose in Parlia-

ment about the Exiles, some to gratifie the Queen adjudging them guilty of Treason, others opposing, said, that nothing had been done which might deserve so great Severity : In the mean time *David* went to see them one by one, to feel their Pulsës, how every one would Vote in the Case of the absent Lords ; to see if he could get a Majority : Nor did he doubt to declare openly that the Queen would have them condemned ; and whosoever voted otherwise, struggled but in vain and would endanger the Displeasure of their Prince. This he did partly to distract the weaker sort with Hope and Fear, and partly to keep the more firm from being of the Commitees, lest the Queen's Party should not have the Majority. This power of an obscure Man grown great in Mischiefe, when many dreaded and all hated ; the King by his Fathers advice sends for *James Dowglas* and *Patrick Lindsey*, the one his Fathers, the other his Mothers Kinsman : These concert the Business with *Patrick Ruven*, a ready Man both of his Hands and Councel, but was so weakened with a Quotidian Ague, that for some Months he could not rise out of Bed ; he of these few was the Man intrusted with this great Affair, as well in regard of his Prudence and Abilities, as that his Children were Cousin *Germans* to the King. By these the King was admonisht of his late Errors, that
for

for the sake of a wicked Villian did not only suffer the chief of his Kindred and Friends to be put out, but had in a manner driven them away with his own hand, and had so exalted this Citizen of the World, that himself was now despised by him : Much other Conference they had about the Publick Weal, and at last they brought him to confess his Fault, and to assure them, that for the future he would act nothing without the consent of the Nobility. They being Men bred up and conversant in Business, did not think it safe to trust too far to an Uxorious Youth, lest he should at any time be inticed by her Caresses to break his Agreement to their certain Ruin. They therefore tendered him Articles of Agreement, to which he readily and willingly subscrib'd, which were for the establishing the Religion, as it was provided at the Queens return into *Scotland*, the calling back those Subjects that were lately driven away, and which the Country could not well be without ; and for the Murder of *David* whose longer Preservation was inconsistent with the Dignity of the King, and Safety of the Nobles.

These being sign'd and seal'd, and the King owning himself to be the Author of the Murder, they straitway went about the Business, as well to prevent the Condemnation of the absent Lords, as for fear the Matter

might take Air by any longer Delay ; therefore, as the Queen was at Supper in a little Closet with *David* and the Earl of *Argile's* Lady, and a few Servants waiting, for the place would not hold many, *James Dowglass* Earl of *Morton*, walkt in the outward Room with a great Number of his Friends and Familiars, and in the open Court below, several of their Retainers and fast Friends were placed to observe and hinder any Tumult that might happen to arise. The King went up out of his Chamber, which was within the Queen's, by a narrow Stair-case, which none but himself made use of, followed by *Patrick Ruven* armed, and 4 or 5 others at most, who being come into the Closet where they were at Supper, the Queen was a little startled at such unlookt for Insolence, and beholding *Ruven* with a ghastly and lean Visage occasioned by his Ague come armed into her presence, she askt what the matter was, for those that were by thought him Light-headed with his Distemper, and not in his right Senses : He bids *David* rise and go out, for that the place where he sat did not become him ; the Queen strait rose and stepping in between, protected him from those that came against him : The King taking her in his Arms, bid her not to fear, for no Harm was meant to her ; they only design'd the slaughter of one Villain : *David* being drawn
out

out into the next, and from thence into the outward Room, was by those that waited there with *Dowglass* received with many a mortal Wound, against their Will that first conspir'd his Death, who design'd to have hang'd him publickly, as knowing that would be a Sight most welcome unto the People.

There went a strong Report that he was oft advis'd by *John Daniret*, a French Priest that had some skill in *Magick*, that he should do his Business and begone, and withdraw himself from the hatred of the great ones, who would prove too many for him: And that his Answer was, the *Scots* were greater Threat'ners than Fighters; and a few Days before his Death being bid to beware of a Bastard, his answer was, that while he liv'd the Bastard should not have that Power in *Scotland*, as to make him fearful of him; for he thought the Danger was presaged from *Murray*, but whether the Prediction was fulfill'd or no, the first Wound he receiv'd was from *George Dowglass* Bastard Son to the Earl of *Angus*; after which every one struck as he stood nearest to him either to gratifie his Wrath, or desirous of a Partnership in the publick Revenge: Upon this an Alarm is given through the whole House, and the Earls of *Huntly*, *Atholl* and *Bothwell*, that slept in another Apartment in the Palace, when they would

would have broke out, were kept within Doors by those that guarded the lower Court without any Harm done to them. *Ruven* coming out of the Closet into the Queen's Chamber, being no longer able to stand, sat down, and desired to drink, against whom the Queen inveigh'd with all the Bitterness that Rage and Sorrow could suggest, and among the rest reproached him for talking to her sitting, whilst she stood, which he excused upon the account of his Decay of Spirits, and not out of Pride; but exhorted her, that in governing the Kingdom, she would advise with her Nobility, whose interest it was to keep all Things safe, rather than Vagabond Knaves, that were not able to give any Pledge for their Fidelity; being such as had not any thing either of Estate or Reputation to lose: nor was the thing now acted without precedent of former times; That the Government of *Scotland* was not at the Pleasure of a single Person, but prescribed by Law and the Consent of the Nobility; that if any Kings attempted the contrary, they paid dearly for their Rashness; nor were the present *Scots* so far degenerated from the institutions of their Ancestors, as quietly to bear not only the Empire but the Slavery of a forreign Fellow, whom they could not honestly account of as a Servant.

With

With this Speech the Queen was more enraged, and so they went away, having set Guards in Places convenient, lest any further Tumult should arise. Mean while the Noise of this spreads through the Town, and all fly presently to Arms, and hasten to the Palace, where the King spoke out of a Window to the People, telling them himself and the Queen were safe, that there was no occasion for their stirring: all that was done, being done by his Command, and what it was they should know in proper time, and for the present bid every one go home. Whereupon they went all away except some few that were kept to make good the Watch.

The next Morning the Nobles that were return'd from *England* made their Appearance in the Courts of Judicature, being ready for their Tryal, appointed that Day for that purpose; but when none of the adverse Party appear'd against them, they protested publicly it was no fault of theirs, they were not brought to Tryal, and so every one went to their own Quarters.

The Queen having sent for her Brother, and had some Talk with him, gave hopes that for the future she would rest her self wholly upon the Nobility: But
her

her Restraint was enlarged, which many fear'd would turn to bad Account to the publick ; which fell out accordingly : For she got up her old standing Guards, and going out at a Postern in the Night, with *George Seaton*, that had brought two Hundred Horse along with him, went first to his Castle and after to *Dunbarre* : and took the King along with her, threatening him with Death in case he disobeyed. Where having gathered Forces, and pretending to a Reconciliation with those that were lately return'd from Exile, she fell upon the Murderers of *David* ; but those yielding to the times, and Matters seeming as it were appeas'd, she return'd to her former Disposition.

First of all she gave Orders that the Body of *David*, which was buried before the Gates of the next Church, should be removed in the Night, and buried under the same Monument where the late King and his Children were laid.

This Act gave fresh Occasion of unhappy Talk ; for how could she celebrate her Adultery more, than by giving such a Son of Earth, Famous for no one virtuous Act, or any Endeavour for the publick good, the honour of that Tomb where her Father and Brothers lay, and which was yet (if
any

any thing could be) more ignominious, to put so scandalous a Corps, almost into the Arms of *Magdalene of Valois*, who had been Queen not long before?

In the mean time she pursued her Husband with Menaces and Threats, speaking all ill things of him, and doing what she could to lessen his Authority with all Men; and as much as in her lay to render him despised by the whole World.

About this time the Murder of *David* was brought again in question, and furiously pursued; many of those who were said to be guilty were banisht several Ways, many fined, some in a manner innocent and that therefore thought themselves secure, suffer'd for it. For the Chiefs of the Faction, some fled into *England*, others hid themselves in the Highlands; publick Offices and Employments were taken from all such as were but toucht with the least Suspicion, and bestowed upon their Enemies: A Proclamation was made by the Cryer, and not without smiling in that Scene of Sorrow, to forbid any one to say that the King was either guilty or accessary to the Death of *David*. This Disturbance of Affairs being a little settled, about the middle of *April*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Murray* were re-admitted

mitted into Favour ; and the Queen being now very near her time, departed to the Castle at *Edinburgh* ; and the nineteenth Day of *June*, a little after nine a Clock at Night, was brought to Bed of a Son, who was afterwards called *James the Sixth*.

End of the Second Book.

AN

(175)

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E

Affairs of *SCOTLAND*,

From the D E A T H of

JAMES the Fifth,
Till the Death of the Earl of
Murray Regent of *Scotland*,
1571.

B O O K I I I .

TH E Queen, after she was brought to Bed, tho' she received all others that came to visit her with a Civility suitable to such a publick Congratulation ; yet whenever it was told her, that

that the King was come to make her a visit, both her self and those about her did so compose their Countenances and Discourse, as if they seem'd to be afraid lest the King should not understand that his Visits were troublesome, and the Sight of him unwelcome. On the other hand, *Bothwell* was now the Man in favour, he alone was at the Head of all Business, and the Queen was so desirous to have it known and understood, that if any Body came to Petition her at any time, nothing could be obtained but by his Means; and as if she feared her favours to him were not manifest enough, she went down one Day to a Place they call the *New Haven*, with one or two with her, no Body knowing whether she designed to go, and went aboard a little Bark that lay ready there, which *William* and *Edmond Blackatiers*, *Edward Robertson* and *Thomas Dickson* Retainers all to *Bothwell* and celebrated Pirates had fitted out. With this Crew of *Paccaroones* she went to Sea to the Amazement of all sober People, not taking so much as the better sort of her Servants with her, and in *Wemy Castle*, belonging to the Earl of *Mar*, where the Ship put in, she behaved her self in such Manner, as if she had not only forgot the Majesty of a Queen, but the Modesty of a Woman. The King hearing of her unexpected Departure, follow'd her
by

Communication of that conjugal Love and Affection which ought only to be fixt on him: But he, as a troublesome disturber of her Pleasures, was bid to be gone from whence he came, and had hardly leave to stay so long as to let his Servants have a little Refreshment. The Queen a few Days after returned to *Edinburgh*; and under pretence of avoiding the Crowd, went not to her Palace, but retired herself to a private Persons House in the Neighbourhood, and from thence remov'd into another, where the Court of Exchequer was held, notsomuch invited (as was thought) by the convenience of the House, and Pleasantness of the Gardens, as that one *David Cameray* a Retainer of *Bothwells* had Lodgings hard by, with a Back-Door opening into the Queen's Gardens; which *Bothwell* might make use of at his Pleasure. In the mean time the King could find no Place in her Esteem, but was always sent away with Scoldings and Affronts; and having often essayd to regain her Favour, but all in vain, no Observance nor Respects taking any place with her, and all Accesses bard to her former Graces, he makes a solitary Retreat to *Sterling*. The Queen a little while after designed to go to *Fedbrough* to hold the Justice Courts there; about the begining of *October* *Bothwell* made an Expedition into
N
Lidale,

Lidale, where demeaning himself, neither according to the Place he held, nor the Honour of his Family, nor the expectation Men had conceiv'd of him, being wounded by a pitiful Robber, whom he had Pistoll'd and almost Slain in cold Blood; he was carried into *Armitage* Castle, in great Despair of Life. The news whereof being brought to the Queen at *Borthwicke*, she posted away in a sharp Winter, first to *Mulrosse*, and thence to *Jedbrough*, where tho' certain news came of his likelyhood to recover, being impatient of delay, she was unable to contain herself, and in that untoward Season, not valuing the illness of the ways, or Danger of Robbers, she set forward with such a poor Attendance, as scarce any sober Person of an indifferent Fortune would venture withal: From whence returning back to *Jedbrough*, she took all the care imaginable, to get *Bothwell* safe convey'd thither, where when he was come, their way of Eating and Fashion of living, was little for either of their Honours. There, whether by her continual care and trouble Day and Night, or by some hidden strook of Providence, she fell so desperately Ill, as scarce any hopes of Life remained in her; which when the King knew of, he went with long Journeys to *Jedbrough*, both to visit the Queen,
and

and testify his concerns for her, by any service he could doe, as also (which is usual in such extremities of Danger) to incline her to a Repentance of her former Life, and to dispose herself to greater Piety for the future. But she on the contrary, was so far from shewing any signes of an appeased Mind, that she gave order that no Body should rise up to him, or Salute him when he came, or quit their Lodgings for him, nor somuch as harbour him, but for a Night. And having some suspicion, least *Murray*, whom she knew to have more humanity then to be so uncivil, should afford him Entertainment; she dealt with his Lady to make Hast Home, and feign herself Sick, and go to Bed, that under pretence of her sickness the King might be kept out from fixing there; and matters were brought to that pass, that he had been forced to go away for want of a Lodging, had not some of the *Hameses*, for very shame, pretended an excuse for their sudden Departure, and left their Lodgings to him.

The next morning he was Commanded back to *Sterling*, which return of his was the more shamefully cry'd out on, because that at the same time *Bothwell* was brought in view of the whole World, from the House he formerly Lodged at, into the

N Queen

Queens own Apartment; and when neither of them were yet well recovered, she of her Sickness, and he of his Wounds; they notwithstanding adventured to goe first to *Calson*, from thence to *Coldingham*, and presently after to *Crag Miller*, which Castle is within two Miles of *Edinburgh*, not valuing the Reports that were spread abroad all along the Journey; while the Queen in all her Discourse, did openly profess, that she could have no Comfort of her Life, unless she was Parted from the King; and in Case no other expedient could be found, she would lay violent Hands upon him herself; and was often upon occasion, making mention of a Divorce, which she said would be no difficult matter, if the Pope's Bull were but out of the way, which gave them leave to Marry against the Canon-Law; but when she saw this business went not forward to her liking (for these things were transacted, when many of the Noblemen were by) setting all other expedients aside, she resolves upon Murdering the King.

A little before Winter, when the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* came to celebrate the Prince's Christning, the Queen took all the care she could, as well by Money as otherwise, that *Bothwell* should surpass them all in Gallantry and Equipage; whilst her lawful Husband the mean while

while at the Christning of his Son, was not only destitute of the support of necessary Expences, but forbid to come into the Ambassador's sight; his menial Servants taken from him, and the Nobility forbid to pay him any Observance. But they both upon this and other former occasions, the more they saw the Queen's inveteracy against him, the more were they inclined to pity his Misfortune: To behold a Gentleman young and innocent, so barbarously reproached, not only to bear his Affronts with Patience, but to try always of attoning her unreasonable Anger, and almost in nature of a Servant, to become an humble suppliant for a place in her Esteem: For his Cloaths, an impudent and false Colour is found out, by laying the fault upon the Lacemen and Embroiderers, and other Tradesmen, which every Body knew to be her own, whilst in setting *Bothwell* forth, she wrought many things with her own Hands: The Forreign Ambassadors had likewise warning given them, not to have any Discourse with him, tho' a great part of the Day, they were to be all together in the same Castle. The noble Youth thus barbarously Treated, seeing himself exposed to general Scorn, a Rival taken in before his Face and Reverenced by all, resolves to go away to his Father, (sent for

for as some say by him un *Glasco*) whom the Queen pursues in his Departure with her wanted Hatred. His Plate, which he had constantly made use of, from his Marriage 'till that Day, is all taken from him, and Pewter sent him in room of it : Poison was likewise given him at his Departure, that in case he should Die in his absence from Court, the business might be less suspected, which wrought sooner then was intended; for before he had got a Mile from *Sterling*, so violent a Pain seized all parts of his Body, that it was apparent the Distemper could not come by chance, but was rather an effect of humane Artifice; but when he came to *Glasco*, the occasion of his Illness did more clearly manifest it self, for Boyles and Blisters of a blewish Colour, broke out with such Pain upon his Body, that there seemed to be very small hopes of his Recovery. *James Aberneth* an excellent Phisician, and of good Reputation, being asked about his Distemper, straight answered, he was Poison'd. The Queens own Phisician in Ordinary was likewise sent for, but she forbad his coming, as well for fear, least he might recover him, as that his being Poison'd might be too apparent.

The Ceremonies of the Christning being over, and every one going away; the Queen de-

desirous of Privacy, with none almost but *Bothwell*, having spent some Days at *Drummond* and *Tilibardin* Noble Mens Houses, returned about the begining of *January* 1565 to *Sterling*, and when she was daily talking of her going to *Glasco*, and expected a Messenger with News of the King's Death, being yet uncertain what would come of it, she resolved to have her Son in her own Power: And that her designe might be the less suspected, she gave out, that the House the Child was brought up in, was incommodious, and that by reason of its cold and moist Scituation, might put him in danger of a Consumption; but it was plain enough she had other reasons; for the Harms she pretended to avoid by his removal, were much more likely to seize him in the House whether he was to be carry'd, being Seated in a moist and mareish Place, and a great Hill betwixt the Sun and it; and so the Child being but seven Months old, is carry'd in a sharp Winter to *Edinburgh*: Where when the King's Recovery was known, and the vigour of his Youth and Strength of Nature had overcome the force of the Poison, a new design is laid for his Dispatch, wherein several of the Nobility are engaged. Whilst in the mean time News was brought to the Queen, that the King had thought

of flying into *France* or *Spain*, and had to that purpose been treating with some English, that had a Ship then lying in *Dunbarton Fryth*: Some were of opinion that this was a good occasion for the Queen to send for him, and in case he refused to come, to put him publickly to Death, nor did there want those that promised their Assistance; others advised to make him privately away, but all agreed the Execution ought to be speedy, before he was perfectly Recovered. The Queen being secure of her Son, that she might likewise have her Husband in her Power, resolved to go to *Glasco*, tho' they had not yet determined the manner of his Death, having, as she thought, pretty well cleared her self by many loving Letters, of the suspicion she lay under some Months before; but her accounts lessened the Credit of her Letters, for she hardly took any long with her, but the *Hamiltons* and others that were known Enemies to the King and his Family. What was to be done in the mean time at *Edinburgh*, was committed to the care of *Bothwell*, for that was thought the properest place, both for doing and concealing of the Fact; because, in so great a Concourse of the Nobility, the suspicion might be turned off, and thrown upon another, or laid upon many. When the Queen had tryed all ways

ways for the better covering her Hatred by Chidings, Complainings, and several Bemoanings past to and again betwixt them, she made him with much adoe believe, that she was sincerely Reconciled. The King who was not yet perfectly Recover'd of his Distemper, was brought in a Horse-Litter to *Edinburgh*, to the Place appointed for his Destruction, by *Bothwell*, (who in absence of the Queen, had undertook that Province) which was a House that had not been Inhabited for several Years, adjoining to the Walls of the City, in a Solitary Place, betwixt the Ruins of two old Churches, where neither Cry nor Noise could well be heard. There is he with a few Servants shut; up the greater part of his attendance, who were indeed rather Spies upon his Words and Actions, then attendants on his Person, went away, being not Ignorant of the approaching Danger; neither could this small remainder of his Servants, get the Keys of the Doors out of the Hands of those that had prepared the Lodgings. The Queen who made it now her only business to remove all manner of suspicions from herself, and so well succeeded in her Diffimulation, that the King conceiving himself secure of her good Affections towards him, wrote Letters to his Father, (who then lay Sick at *Glasgow*)

of

of the hopes and confidence he had of her, commemorating the Queens late Kindness to him, and the demonstrations of her singular and sincere Love ; and seemed with great assurance, to promise himself, that the Face of Affairs would change for the better : Before he had concluded, the Queen comes on the suddain, and having read the Letters, did often Embrace and Kiss him, and told him how above measure he was Dear unto her, since she perceived so plainly that no cloud of Suspicion did remain upon him. Matters now seeming to be quietly composed, their next care was to use their utmost endeavour to lay all the blame at other Peoples doors, and therefore she sends for her Brother *Murray*, who had lately got leave to go see his Wife at St. *Andrews*, who was reported to be in very great danger of her Life, falling Sick in Childbed of the small Pox, attended with a violent Feaver.

The occasion she took hold of, for reteining her Brother was upon pretence of giving the Duke of *Savoys* Ambassador, that was come a little too late to the Prince's Christning, an Honourable dispatch, which tho' it lookt a little hard, that he should on this account, be kept from a more Pious and necessary Office, yet not withstanding he obeyed. In the mean time the Queen

makes

makes daily visits to the King, and reconciles him to *Bothwell*, whom she would not have to be suspected, giving him large promises of his unfeigned Service to him for the future; which seeming Officiousness, tho' every one suspected, yet no one durst give the King any intimation of his Danger, in regard that whatsoever he had heard elsewhere, he would certainly tell the Queen again, the better to Insinuate himself into her good Opinion. At last there was a Man found out, *Robert*, a Brother to the Queen, that whether moved with the heinousness of the design, or pity for the noble Youth, adventured to acquaint him with the Train his Wife had lay'd for him, but with this condition, that he should keep it private to himself, and consider of the properest means for his security; which when the King according to his custom had made the Queen acquainted with, *Robert* was called in, who confidently deny'd the matter, whereupon the Lie past between them, and both betook them to their Swords; the Queen rejoycing at the sight to see the business she had so long designed in likelihood of being brought about without her farther trouble, call'd in her other Brother *James* to part 'em; but in truth to bring him into equal Danger, for there remained no other Judge of the controversy but

but *Bothwell*, who would rather dispatch him that happened to be worsted, than hinder them from going to it; and did express as much, when he said there was not so much need of *James's* hast to part two Men, that were not so forward to Engage. But the Scuffle being over, the Queen and *Bothwell* were altogether bent upon the Murder, contriving how it might be done with all imaginable secrecy. The Queen to put a better colour on her Counterfeit Love to her Husband, and that she might seem to have forgot all former Animosities, comands to have her own Bed brought from the Palace, and set up in the Chamber within the Kings, where she spent several Nights in long Discourses with him, and ceased not in the mean time to devise how to lay the Fact, when it was done, upon her Brother *James*, and the Earl of *Morton*; for these two, whose Authority and Vertue she so much feared and hated, being taken off, she promised herself Success in all her other undertakings, to which she was also encouraged by Letters from the Pope and Cardinal of *Lorrain*; for the last Summer, when she had by her Uncle desired Money from the Pope, to enable her to give disturbance to the Religion Establishing in *Brittain*, and the Pope more covertly, but the Cardinal openly advising the

the Murder of those that opposed the calling in of Popery again, and had likewise published their Names, and in particular, the aforesaid Earls, after whose Death he promised great Summs of Money to carry on the War. The Queen believing the Nobles might have got some Intimation of this busines, shewed them the Letters in hopes to clear herself from all suspicion of ill intention towards them: But these designs, which seemed so closely laid, were not a little disturbed by frequent Messengers from *Murray's* Wife, to let him know she had Miscarry'd, and little hopes of Life remained in her: This news came to him upon Sunday, as he was going to Church, upon which, returning to the Queen, he humbly desired her leave to be gon; she on the other hand, was very earnest with him to stay a Day longer, in hopes of better News, urging that his hastning to her could not signify much, but if her distemper did abate, he might come time enough the next Day; but he being resolved upon it, went his way. The Queen having designed the Murder to be that Night, would in appearance seem cheerfully dispos'd, and would needs celebrate the Marriage of one of her Singing-Men, called *Sebastian*, in her own Palace: Where after having past the Evening in Mirth and Jollity,

Jollity, she would go and give a Visit to her Husband; and when she had talked some Hours with him more cheerfully than ordinary, and Kist him several times, she gave him a Ring.

After the Queen was gone, the King with those few Servants that were left about him, making observations upon the passages that had happened that Day, (they endeavouring to keep up his Heart in good hopes) the remembrance of a few Words the Queen had dropt, gave no small disturbance to their Mirth; for whether she was overjoyed at the approaching hopes of executing her mischievous Purpose, that she was unable to contain herself, or that the Words slipped from her unawares; she took notice of *David Rissos* being Murthered much about that time Twelve-Month; this unseasonable mentioning of that Murder, no body was pleased with, yet in regard the Night was far spent, and the next Day design'd for Sports and Merriment, they all made hast to Bed.

In the mean while Pouder was laid in the inward Room, to Blow up the House, and all other things seemed to be cunningly enough provided; yet in a small matter they left no little Footsteps for the tracing out their Wickedness; for the Bed wherein the Queen had lain some Nights before,

before, was taken away, and a worse put in the room; so penurious were they of a little Money in the midst of this excessive prodigality of Honour.

When all things were in readiness, *Paris* a Frenchman, one of the Conspirators, came into the King's Chamber, and standing silently, so as the Queen might see him, gave her private notice of it, who as if upon the sight of *Paris*, she had bethought herself of *Sebastian's* Marriage, seem'd offended at her own Neglect, for not Dancing at the Wedding and putting the Bride to Bed, rose up in hast and went away.

After the Queen was returned to the Palace, she Discourst a good while with *Bothwell*, who having his dismissal went to his own Chamber and changed his Cloaths, and putting on a Leaguer Cloak, past through the Guards with some few with him, and came back into the Town. Two other Companies of the Conspirators coming several ways to the Place appointed, a few of them went up into the King's Chamber, which they had the Keys of, as we said before, and coming in upon him, while he was fast a Sleep, Strangled him together with his Servant, that lay a Sleep on a Pallace by him. After which they carried their dead Bodies, through a Breach they had made for that purpose in the City-Wall, in-

to

to a Neighbouring Garden, and then setting Fire to the Pouder, Blew up the whole House with such a violent Crack, that some Houses neer hand, were shaken with the Blow, and those that were a Sleep in the remotest parts of the Town, started up in great Astonishment.

When the Business was done, *Bothwell* being let down by the Breaches in the City-Wall, went back another way, and past through the Guards again into the Palace. This was for some Days the certain report of the King's Murder: The Queen who was up at that time of Night waiting for the event, having called together the Nobility that were then in Court, and amongst the rest *Bothwell*, sent by her advice, as being herself ignorant of what was done, to enquire the reason of the Noise, they that went to take an account of the Fact, found the King lying in his Shirt that cover'd the upper part of his Body, the other part of him quite Naked, the rest of his Cloaths all by him, to his very Slippers.

Great concourse of People came to look upon him; some imagining one thing some another, but not a Man among them, could (as *Bothwell* would have had it) conceive it likely, that when the House was Blown up, his Body could be thrown out
thither,

thither, especially since there was neither Fracture nor Contusion, nor any mark to be perceived on his whole Body; (which must of Necessity have happened in such a violent Eruption) no Fire nor Poudre to be seen about his Cloaths that lay close by him, so that they did not seem to be blown there by accident, but rather to be laid with Hands.

Bothwell at his return home, having with seeming Wonder and Amazement given the Queen an account, she went to Bed and Slept soundly 'till very late the next Day; mean while reports are spread abroad by the Parricides, that the King was Murdered by the Council, and Appointment of the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*, which were carry'd into the English Borders before Day; but every one accused the Queen in their own private Thoughts, as principal in the Fact. Neither was the Bishop of *St. Andrew's* clear from Censure, which did arise from several Conjectures, for besides the implacable Enmity between their Families; the Bishop was never fully reconciled to the Queen before this mischievous Action came into her Thoughts. And having of late attended her at *Glasco*, was present at all the late Consultations: And that which increas'd the suspicion, was his taking of Lodgings in his Brother the Earl

Earl of *Arrans*'s House, near to the place wherein the King was Slain; whereas formerly he had used to Lodge in a more Eminent part of the City, wherein he might be more commodiously Visited, and gain Popularity by his Entertainments: Also because that from the higher part of the City, they could perceive Lights and Sitting up all Night in his House, and at last upon the Crack at the Houses Blowing up, the Lights were straight put out, and his Retainers, that often used to Watch in Arms, were forbid to stir out. But the sequel of the History made that, which was but then suspicious, to become more plainly evident.

After the Business was done, Messengers were dispatcht (as we said before) into *England*, to disperse the News of the Scotch King's being Murdred by his Subjects, and chiefly by the means of the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*. The Report whereof coming to the Court, did somuch incense their Minds with an Abhorrence of the Scotch, that for some Days none of that Nation durst stir abroad, but in great Peril of their Lives; nor could the several Letters that were sent backward and forward abate their Indignation, 'till the whole matter came daily more and more to light.

The King's Body, after it had been long exposed to publick View, and great Con-
course

course of People to behold it ; the Queen gave Order to have it brought by Porters upon a Form turn'd wrongside upwards into the Palace, where herself did earnestly behold the Handsomest Man that that Age had yielded, without the least Discovery of the secret Thoughts of her Heart.

The Nobles that were present had resolved of an Honourable Funeral for him, but she had ordered he should be privately Buried in the Night by Porters, without any Funeral Pomp ; and which added yet to the Indignity, he was laid near *David Riso*, as if she meant to atone the *Manes* of that despicable Wretch, by the Sacrifice of her own Husband.

Two accidents happened about that time, which I thought worthy the Relation, the former whereof fell out a little before the Murder, which was this ; *James London* a Man of *Fife*, Born of Honest Parentage, having been long Sick of a Feaver, the Day before the King was Slain, about Noon raising himself a little in his Bed, in a kind of Astonishment, with a loud Voice intreated those that were with him to help the King, for the Murderers were now attacking him ; and then a little after cry'd in a lamentable Tone, your help is invain, for he is Slain already ; and Lived not long after he had spoke the Words. The other

happened just upon the Murder; three Persons belonging to the Earl of *Athol*, who was related to the King, Men neither obscure in Quality nor Worth, that lay in a place not far from the King's Lodgings, being all a Sleep about midnight, comes one to *Dugall Steward*, that lay next the Wall, and stroaking him softly with his Hand upon the Beard and Cheek to Waken him, said, *Rise they will do you Mischief*; he starts up on the suddain, and thinking with himself of the Apparition; another cryes out of another Bed, who is't that Kicks me? And when *Dugall* answered 'tis the Cat perhaps that is hunting about, as she often does; the third that was not yet awake, leaps suddenly out of Bed, upon his Feet, asking who it was that gave him a Box on the Ear; and with that Word, some Body was seen to go out at the Door, not without some Noise. In the mean time as they were in Discourse of what they had seen and heard; the sudden Crack of the Blowing up the King's Lodgings, put 'em all into a Consternation.

This Bloody Fact did variously affect the Minds of Men, according as they stood inclinable in Love or Hatred to the King; but all good Men did generally abominate such an execrable Villany. But of all others *John Stuart* Earl of *Athol* took it most to Heart,

Heart, as well for other Reasons, as that he had been a chief Promoter of the Marriage. The next Night after the Murder, the Men of Arms, as on such a frightful Occasion is usual, keeping Guard about the Palace; a Noise was heard on the out side of the Wall of *Athol's* Lodging, as if it were an Undermining the Foundation; the Family awak't with the Noise, sate up all the rest of the Night, and the next Day the Earl removed into the Town, and a little after being fearful of his Life, went away Home. The Earl of *Murray* returning from *St. Andrews* to the Court, was not out of Danger neither; for Armed Men were haunting every Night about his House; but when by reason of his being Indisposed, some of his Servants were always up; the *Russians* could do nothing secretly, and durst do nothing openly against him; at last *Bothwell* (who was desirous to be rid of that trouble) resolved to do the Fact with his own Hands; and about Midnight asked some of his own People how *Murray* did; when answer was made him that he was very ill; what if we went to Visit him, says he? and thereupon rising up, goes in hast to his Appartment; but as he went, his Servants told him, that he was removed to his Brother *Roberts* House, that he might be more at Ease and Quiet, out of

the Noise of the Palace; Upon which he stood still a while, and vexing that he had mist his Opportunity, returned again.

The Queen, in the mean time, put on a melancholy Look, thinking, under a Pretence of Mourning, to pacify the People; but that succeeded, as unluckily as the rest of her Contrivances: For whereas the former Custom in those Cases was, That the Queens for several Days after the Death of their Husbands, did not only shut themselves up from Company, but would not so much as suffer any Light to come into their Chambers; she began to counterfeit a little outward Grief, which was presently overcome by her inward Joy; that tho' her Doors were shut up, yet her Windows were open, and throwing off her Mourning Vail, could in four Days abide the open Air, and before twelve Days, having hardened her self against the Reports of common Fame, she made a sally out to *Seaton*, seven Miles out of Town: *Bothwell* the mean while never parting from her, and ordered the matter so, as that she appeared something alter'd in her Habit, but nothing in her Mind. The Place was frequented by a great Course of the Nobility, and she went out every day into the Fields to the usual Sports, which were not very suitable to her Sex, to which some stop was made by the Arrival

val of Monsieur *Crague*, that had been often before that sent of Embassies into *Scotland*. When he had acquainted her how ill this Matter was relish'd in Foreign Parts, they return'd to *Edinburgh*; but *Seaton* was so commodious a Place, that thither she would go again, tho' her Honour lay at stake for't: There the great Consult was, how *Bothwell* might be clear'd from the King's Murder. The Design was laid before, both for his Accusation and Acquittal; for presently after the Murder, *Bothwell* with some other of the Conspirators went before to the Earl of *Argile*, who was Justice General, and, as if they were ignorant of the Fact, wonder'd at so new and unheard of, and so incredible a thing; and desiring to have the Business inquir'd into, they summon'd in a few poor Women of the Neighbourhood, who betwixt Hope and Fear, were doubtful whether it were better for them to speak or hold their Toungues: And tho' they gave but a faint Evidence, yet happening to blab out more than was expected, they were sent away. The King's Domesticks that escap'd the Danger were sent for next, and being asked how the Murderers got in, deny'd that the Keys were in their Custody; who had them then? They said the Queen. The Business was colourably put off, but not in Truth suppress'd; for they were afraid, that

if they should search too far into it, the Secrets of the Court would come to be discover'd by the People: But that the Matter should not seem to be quite laid aside, a Proclamation was put out, offering a Reward to the Discoverers; but who durst venture at *Bothwell*, when the same Person was to be the Criminal, the Judge, Accuser and Condemner? Tho' this Fear stopt the Mouths of private Persons, yet it could not restrain the Populacy; for Libels flew abroad, Pictures and Prints were set forth, and Cryes about the Streets in the Night were heard, by which the Parricides plainly found their Secrets were detected; insomuch, that no Body doubted who designed it, nor who were assissant to it; and the more it was endeavoured to be suppress'd, the more did the restrained Sorrow of the People vent it self: Which tho' the Conspirators made a shew of despising, yet the thing that startled them most was, their not being able to dissemble their inward Resentments; so that laying aside the Prosecution of the King's Murder, another succeeds, and that more sharp against the Libellers, and in their own Language, Traducers of *Bothwell*: Wherein they neither spared for Pains nor Charge; the Painters and Printers of the Libels are sent for to discover, if possible, the Authors of them: And the better to assist the

the Prosecution, a Proclamation is set forth, declaring it Capital for any, not only to promote, but even to read them : But those, that strove under no less a Penalty than Death, to restrain the Discourses of the People, were not satisfied with the poor King's Murder, but retained their Hatred to him after he was dead, for the Queen divided his Goods, Armour, Horses, Cloaths, and the remainder of his Household-stuff, as if they had been forfeited, among his Murderers, or those that were known Enemies to his Family. These things as they were openly transacted, so they were as openly discours'd of, insomuch that the Taylor that was to fit the King's Cloaths for *Bothwell*, adventur'd to say that in this he must applaud the Laws and Customs of his Country, that gave the dead Man's Cloaths to his Executioner.

In the mean while, another Care arose, how the Queen might possess her self of *Edinburgh* Castle, which was kept by *John* Earl of *Marre*, upon condition not to render it to any without Order and Direction from the States in Parliament ; which tho' they were to meet the next Month, yet all Delay seem'd tedious to the Queen ; wherefore she treats with the Earl's Friends and Kindred (himself lying then at *Sterling* very ill) for a Surrender of the Castle, pretending

tending for a Principal Reason, that the People of *Edinburgh*, who were then in Mutiny, could not be brought into Order, unless she had the Castle in her Power; in Recompence whereof she would consign her only Son and Heir of the Kingdom into his Hands, as a Pledge of her Favour, to be kept and brought up by him, which Imployment his Predecessors in former Princes times, and even of late in the time of her Mother and Grand-father, had held with great Reputation.

He understanding well enough whether these Promises and fair Speeches tended, was hardly prevail'd with to consent. The Queen finding him more easy than she did expect, endeavour'd to get Possession of the Castle without parting with her Son, which when she could not compass, she tried another way with him, and desired him to receive her Son at a certain time appointed at *Linkithgoe*, (which is the mid-way between *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*,) and deliver up the Castle: But here being likewise a Suspicion of foul Play, it is at last concluded that the Child should be deliver'd unto *Aireskin* at *Sterling*, and that he should in the mean time give sufficient Security for rendring up the Castle.

These Matters held the Parricides in Work: But they were much more perplext with

with the daily Complaints from the Earl of *Lenox*, who not daring to come personally to Court, by reason of the uncontrouled Power of *Bothwell*, made his continual Appeal by Letters unto the Queen, requesting of her, that *Bothwell*, who was without doubt the principal Author of the Murder, might be confined for some short time, 'till a day should be appointed for his Tryal.

The Queen tho' she used several Devices to elude his Supplication, yet in regard the Prosecution of so nefarious a Crime was not to be avoided, she chose to do it thus: The Parliament was to meet about mid *April*, before which she would have the Tryal over, that the Criminal being acquitted by his Peers, should be likewise cleared in open Parliament, and so withdraw: Which Haste was the Occasion that neither Rule nor Order was observ'd in the Tryal; The Relations, *viz.* The Wife, the Father, the Mother, the Son, ought to be summon'd to come in and accuse, or otherwise, to send their Procurators, who have 40 Days allow'd 'em to appear in. The Father was commanded to appear the 12th of *April*, without bringing any of his Friends along, but barely his own Family, which in this Distress was reduced to a slender Number; whilst in the mean time *Bothwell* traced about the City with a numerous Train attending

tending on him : The Earl of *Lenox* thinking himself unsafe in a City fill'd with his Enemies, where himself was destitute of Friends and Attendance, and if his Life were not in Danger, yet he could not act with Freedom and Security, thought it safer for him to absent himself. *Bothwell* at the appointed Day being both Criminal and Accuser, comes up into the Court, where a Jury of Peers is call'd over, the greatest part whereof were his own Friends, and no Body excepting on the other side, *Robert Cunningham*, that was of *Lenox* Family, gave a little stop to the Proceeding ; who having asked Leave to speak, did openly protest against it, as being neither according to Law nor Custom, where the Criminal was too powerful to be brought to Punishment, and the Accuser absent for fear of Death : So that whatsoever was there transacted ought to pass for null and void : Notwithstanding which they proceeded in the Business. *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassiles*, who was return'd on the Jury, rather to make a Nose of Wax of the Law, than that he had Hopes of doing any good, excus'd himself of the Service, offering to pay the Fine imposed upon such as do refuse. When presently a Messenger came from the Queen, bringing her Ring with him and commanding him to serve, threaten'd to
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imprison him in case he did refuse : But he, not terrify'd with that, the Messenger returned with her Commands to serve, upon pain of High Treason. Being thus affrighted, they went together, and at their return declared *Bothwell* not guilty, with Protestation nevertheless, that in case any further Prosecution should be thereafter had against him in a due Course of Law, they should not be brought in question for it : Nor did many conceive that they had done amiss, in regard the Indictment was so worded, that *Bothwell* could not be thereupon found guilty ; for they were commanded to enquire of a Murder committed on the 9th of *February*, whereas the King was kill'd upon the 10th. So *Bothwell* was indeed acquitted, but not clear'd of Infamy, for the Suspicion being increas'd the Punishment was only thought to be deferr'd : But any Colour, tho' never so impudent, served the Queen's turn, who was now resolved upon the point of Marriage with him. To add to this Acquittal, a Paper was posted up in the most conspicuous part of the Market-place, where *Bothwell*, tho' he was Legally acquitted from the Murder of the King, yet to make his Innocence more plainly appear, he offer'd the single Combat to any Gentleman of a clear Reputation, that would charge him with murdering the King ; nor did there want
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a Person the next Day that accepted the Challenge with equal Bravery in another Paper publickly affixt, so that a place might be appointed for the Combat, where he might be out of danger in discovering his Name. But howsoever these Matters succeeded, the Queen appeared more fierce in Parliament, and whereas before she had shadow'd her Actions under fair Pretences of governing according unto Law, she now laid open her Designs of Arbitrary Power : For the Promises she had formerly made at *Sterling* in the matter of Religion she there deny'd ; which was, That in the first Parliament she would repeal the Laws that were introduced by the Arbitrary Power of the Pope, and that the Authority of the Reformed Church should be establisht by new ones. But besides that Promise, when two Proclamations were produced under her own Seal, which she knew not how to deny ; yet she made shift to evade them by commanding those that were sent from the Church to come again another time, never intending after that to have the Trouble of the many more ; and the Acts of Parliament that were past by the Consent of *Francis* her Husband before her return into *Scotland*, she assumed Authority to suspend and declare void, confirming only that of Indemnity, which seem'd to all a manifest usurping

ing of Arbitrary Power; and so the Scots that have no other Laws but what are made by Parliament, began to think with themselves, what kind of Life they must lead under a Prince, whose Will and Pleasure was her Law, and her Promises performed, as she thought fit.

This is the effect of what past towards the End of the Session. At the same time the Queen was hastning on the Marriage, but was very desirous by any means of gaining the publick Consent, that she might not seem to have acted any thing without the Concurrence of the Nobility. *Bothwell* therefore that he might skreen his Marriage under the pretence of publick Authority, took this course: He invited all the Peers that were then present (which was a great number) to Supper with him; where after having warmed 'em pretty well with Wine, he desired the Continuance of their former Favours to him; and for the present, made it his request, that being Ambitious of the great Honour of Marrying with the Queen, they would please to afford him their Concurrence, by signing a Writing, which he had drawn to that Effect; the doing whereof, might not only be a means of gaining her Consent, but would look Honourable with all other People. They were all startled at this so suddain and unexpected

expected Motion; and being unable to Dissemble their Resentments, and as fearful to deny his Request; some few, that knew the Queen's mind, leading the way, the rest not knowing what number of Assentors there might be, one suspecting another, at length they all Subscribed. The next Day, when they came to Consider with themselves what they had done; many of 'em did ingeniously confess, that they would never have Consented, if they had not believed the Queen would be pleased with it; for besides the Disrepute of it, and the Prejudice it might do to the publick; there might be danger that, if *Bothwell* should happen, upon any Discontent to be laid aside, (as they had observed in the Case of her former Husband) the matter might be laid at their door, as having betrayed their Queen, and in a manner compelled her to a dishonourable Marriage. Therefore it were best while the business was yet hot, to try the Queens inclinations, and to get a Writing under her own Hand, that might allow and warrant this proceeding; which being easily obtained, is by all their Consents delivered into the Custody of the Earl of *Argile*. The next Day all the Bishops that were then in Town, were called for up to Court, for their Subscriptions too. When this business was over, a
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mother did ensue, which was to consider,
 how the Queen might get her Son into
 her own Possession; for *Bothwell* did not
 think it safe at all for him to have a Child
 brought up, that might one Day prove the
 Revenger of his Father's Murder; nor
 would he suffer any other to exclude his
 own Issue from the Throne. Wherefore the
 Queen that could deny him nothing, under-
 takes the bringing of her Son to *Edinburgh*;
 she had besides another inducement for her
 going to *Sterling*, which we shall here-
 after give an account of. When she was
 come thither, the Earl of *Marre* suspecting
 her design, let her see her Son; but so as
 he still kept all things in his own Power;
 and the Queen, when her Project was dis-
 covered, and being inferiour in Force, made
 some flight Pretence for her coming, and
 went her way again; and in her Journey,
 whether overcome with the Fatigue, or
 Vex that she met with no better Success
 in her Designs, falling violently Ill on the
 suddain, turned a side to a poor little House,
 about four Miles from *Sterling*; but her
 Distemper abating, she came that Night
 to *Linlithgoe*, and wrote from thence to
Bothwell by *Paris*; what she would have
 done in order to the carrying her away;
 for she had agreed with him before her De-
 parture from *Edinburgh*, that he should seize
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upon her in her coming back at *Almond* Bridge, and to force her as it were to go, whither he had a mind to, for so the World was forward to interpret it; because she could not have his Company so private as she would, and could not want it neither, nor, without great Danger of her Honour, enjoy it with that freedom she desired. And she must likewise wait a great while for his Divorce from his former Wife; and would therefore in the mean time equally endeavour to preserve her Reputation (which she still pretended to be careful of) and gratify her Warm desires; and therefore the Scene was thought to be most fairly laid, wherein *Bothwell* should at the hazard of his own Head, (which he was not much in fear of) remove the Dishonour from the Queen. But the design of this went farther yet, (as it was after understood) for the Common People being often naming the Authors of the King's Murder with great execration; they, to provide for their own Safety, by persuasion, (as was thought) of *John Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse*, devised this Stratagem of carrying the Queen away: For the manner of granting Pardons in *Scotland* is this; that the greatest crime the Offender is Guilty of, must be expressly named, and the rest inserted in general Terms. Those that were guilty of the publick par-

Parricide, resolved to have in their Pardons, the seizing of the Queen, expressly mentioned, and all other Crimes and Capital Offence whatsoever, to follow in on Course; by which Clause they thought to hook in the Murder of the King, which was not safe for the Murderers to insert in Words at Large, nor Honourable for the Queen to Grant: Nor could they be adjoyn'd to any lesser Crime. They were thinking of other Crimes that might be less abominable then this, and which drew after them no less Punishment; but nothing could be hit upon like this Counterfeit Rape, that could so fitly suit with the Pleasure of the Queen, and the security of *Bothwell*; therefore he cast to meet the Queen at *Almond-Bridge*, with 600 Horse at His heels, and carryed her away with him, not agaist her will to *Dunbarr*; where solacing themselves at Pleasure, his former Wife was Summoned, and the Divorce carryed on before the Delegates in both Courts at once, appointed for that purpose, altho' these latter were forbid by publick Authority to intermeddle in any judicial Proceedings: Howsoever the *Lady Gordon*, *Bothwell's* Wife is forced to follow the Process in both Courts; before the Queen's Commissioners she accuses her Husband of Adultery, which before them was a suffici-



ent Cause of Divorce; he is also accused before the Judges of the Spiritual Court, (tho' forbid as aforesaid by Law) for frequent Fornication with a Kinswoman of his Wives before his Marriage: No delay was made either by Witnelles, or Judges in the Divorce; for in ten Days time, the Action was Commenced, Debated and Adjudged.

The better part of the Nobility being assembled at *Sterling*, sent to the Queen to know whether she was detained against her Will or no; for if she was, they would raise an Army to come and set her at Liberty; upon receiving the Messinger, she could hardly keep her Countenance, but told him, that she was brought thither against her Will; but had been since hercoming used with that Civility, that she had little room left for Complaint of the injury offered to her; in fine having laught at the Messinger, they hasten to Legitimate the Rape by Matrimony: To the Completing of which, two Obstructions remained; the one, if she would be Married whilst under a restraint, the Marriage might be faulty, and so easily annulled; the other was, that the usual Ceremonies should be kept of Publishing the Banes of Matrimony, betwixt *James Hepbourne* and *Mary Stuart*, and that if any knew of any Fault or Impediment why they might not

Law.

Lawfully be joyned together, they should declare it to the Church. This was to be done in the publick Congregation, for three *Sundays* together: For the dispatch of these, *Bothwell* calling together his Friends and Dependants, resolved to bring the Queen to *Edinburgh*, where vainly owning herself again at Liberty, she might at her own pleasure determine freely of her Marriage: Her Companions being most of them Armed in their bringing of her back; many of them were affraid, lest that might be misconstrued for the keeping of her still under a Force; for, setting other things aside, this seemed to be an Argument of it; that in time of Peace she should be brought in under the Custody of a Troop of Armed Men; they therefore to avoid this Scruple, all threw away their Arms, and in a more Peaceful manner, at least in shew, Conducted her to *Edinburgh* Castle, which was then in the Power of *Bothwell*: Next Day they attend her into the City and the Sessions House, where she declared herself to be at Liberty, and at her own Dispose. The next business was the publishing the Banes; the Reader whose Office it was, refused it peremptorily, the *Deacons* and Elders being assembled, durst not adventure to struggle too far, but Commanded the Preacher to give the accustomed notice

tice of the intended Marriage; which he so far Obeyed, as to say he knew a Cause of Forbidding the Banes, which he would impart either to the Queen or *Bothwell*, when they had a mind; he was hereupon sent for into the Castle, and coming there the Queen referred him over to *Bothwell*, who altho' he could neither with fair Words, nor threats prevail with the Parson to comply, nor durst allow the matter to be Controverted, he notwithstanding proceeds in the Marriage. A Bishop of *Orcades* was found, who preferring Court Favour before the truth, the rest crying out against it, and offering Reasons why the Marriage could not be Lawful with him, who had two Wives already Living, and but lately quit himself of the third by confessing himself guilty of Adultery; notwithstanding which, to the Scandal of all good Men, and with execrations of the common People, their Relations disapproving it, at the first, and detesting it after, the Mock Ceremonies were performed, and the Marriage Celebrated. The Nobles that were present, for they were almost all gone Home, excepting a few of *Bothwell's* Friends and Neighbours, were invited to supper, and *Monsieur le Crague* the French Ambassador with them: Who altho' he was a partizan of the *Guises* and Lodged hard by, yet he

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absolutely refused to come, not thinking it suitable to the Dignity of his Employ, that he should approve that Marriage by his Presence, which he had heard Cryed down with such horrid execrations by the People. The Queens own Relations were against it first and last: The *French* King and the Queen of *England* did by their Ambassadors Explode it; tho' these were Troubles to her, yet the silent and sullen Grief of the Common People, did by so much the more stimulate the Queen, by how much things we see, make deeper Impression in our Minds, than those we hear; for as they went thro' the City, no Body followed 'em with the usual Acclamation. A Poor Woman cry'd once, *God Bless the Queen*; another standing by her, cry'd once or twice so loud, that she might be heard by the By-standers, *let every body have what they Deserve*; which did not a little exasperate her Mind, already incensed against the *Edinburghers*: Perceiving how People stood Affected both at Home and Abroad, she consulted with some few about her, how she might establish her Power, and provide against future Emergencies. First of all an Embassy is directed into *France*, to Conciliate that King and the *Guises*, that were offended at her rash and hasty Marriage; which Province was consigned to *William* Bishop of

Dunblaine: The Commands he received were almost in these Words; first you must Excuse us to the King, and our Unkles, that the News of our Marriage was arrived at them, before we had by expresse Messingers, acquainted them with the Reasons thereof; which excuse was to have for its Foundation, an Encomium of the Duke of *Orca-des*, from his first beginning, 'till the time of their Marriage; his early adherence to the Royal Family, and more especially to her Mother; for in the great Defection of the Nobility and Burrowes from her in the matter of Religion, he ever adhered to her Authority, and could not be wrought upon by any means to desert her; but rather chose to have his House Plundered, his Furniture and all his Goods of great Value to become a Prey to his Enemies, and when at last he was destitute of all help, an *English* Army brought into the Bowels of the Kingdom by Domestick Enemies, that design'd to drive our Husband Earl of *Bothwell* out of the Kingdom, who leaving his Country and Estate withdrew himself into *France*, where, 'till the time of our return, he failed not of a due Performance of all Services and Honour to us. Nor was his Behaviour in the Wars against the *English* a little before our return to be forgot, where he gave such signal Proofs of his Abilities

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in War, that he had the Preference of those that were his Seniors, and was thought fit to be General of our Domestick Forces, and chosen to be our Lieutenant. And after our return his Care and Study to enlarge our Authority to the great Hazard of his Person, in the reducing of the Rebels near the *English* Borders, and settling all things there in perfect Peace, designing to do the same in other parts of the Kingdom, is not to be forgot; but as Envy will be treading on the Heels of Virtue, the *Scots*, that are naturally pleased with Novelty, some of them desirous to supplant him in our Favour, prevaild upon us with untrue Surmises to commit him to Prison, which was done in hopes to conciliate his Rivals, and give check to the Seditions that were then a-float, threatening the Ruine of the Kingdom: Escaping out of Prison, he went over into *France* to give way to his Rivals, where he staid 'till within these last two Years: When as the Authors of all our Troubles, unmindful of our Clemency and Favour, took up Arms against us; whereupon we thought fit to call him back, and restoring him unto his former Honours made him again our General, by whose Conduct our Authority began to flourish so a-fresh, as the Rebels were forced to leave their Country, and withdraw themselves into *England*; 'Till at last
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some of them were upon their humble Supplications to us readmitted into Favour ; for the rest that were reduced, how perfidiously they used us after all our Benefits and Favours bestow'd upon them, our Uncle is not ignorant, and therefore we shall dwell no longer on that Subject: Nor can we pretermitt his Care and Conduct in our Delivery out of their hands that kept us Prisoner ; how by his Policy we did not only escape, but recovered our former Authority again ; which Services then perform'd and hitherto continued, we can never forget : Which he has performed with so great Diligence, that we could never hope for more Observance, or greater Fidelity from any Person than we found in him, 'till these late Times that follow'd the Decease of our Husband ; from which time, as his Thoughts soared higher, so his Actions in some measure seem'd more insolent, and altho' we were willing to put the fairest Constructions on them. yet we were offended with his Arrogance, who thought we had no way left of requiting his Services, but by giving up our self unto him in Recompence to his Embraces, which purpose he pursued not only by secret Contrivances but open Contempt, choosing rather than to miss of his Design, to reduce us into his Power by Force. In the mean time the whole De-

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meanour of his Life shews with what Craft
 they that undertake any bold Attempt do
 cover their Designs, 'till they have brought
 their ends about; for we thought his Se-
 dulous Observance of us, and Readiness to
 give all Obedience to Our Commands, pro-
 ceeded only from his Duty and Desires of
 pleasing us, without any farther Prospect;
 nor could we have believ'd that the inno-
 cent and Familiar Looks, which we freely
 bestow'd upon the more deserving sort of
 Men, the better to engage them in our Ser-
 vice, should raise up his Hopes to that
 height of Boldness, as to promise himself
 a Place in our Affections: But he serving
 himself with all Occurrences the better to
 facilitate his purpose, procured a Writing
 subscrib'd by all the Nobility (the Parlia-
 ment then sitting) wherein they did not
 only consent to the Marriage betwixt us and
 him; but promised to stand by him with
 their Lives and Fortunes, in bringing the
 Business about, declaring themselves Ene-
 mies to all that should endeavour to oppose
 it. He prevail'd the more easily with them by
 telling them it would not be displeasing un-
 to us: After this successful Step he makes a
 further advance to try, if he could flatter
 himself into our Consent; but meeting with
 an Answer not agreeable to his Desires, he
 bethinks himself of all the Ways his Passion
 could

could suggest, and at last determined to venture all his Fortunes and his Life at one Throw; and resolving with himself to execute his purpose, watched his Time and Place, and took us forcibly away, as we were returning from visiting our Son, and carry'd us to *Dunbarr*; which insolent Attempt, especially from a Person that we had so much oblig'd, how we resented, all the World may judge. We reproached his Ingratitude to our former Favours, and the honourable Opinion we had of him, and whatever else might avail to deliver us out of his hands: Tho' this usage of us was a little Ruff, yet his Words and Answers were soft and gentle, endeavouring by all Honour and Observance, not to give any further Offence: What he had attempted he humbly begg'd our Pardon for, being it was not the Effects of any Disrespect, but his Excess of Love, and for his own Preservation; Lamenting his Misfortune to have those his Enemies, whom he had never offended, who notwithstanding laid hold of all Opportunities to do him Prejudice; and how they had loaded him with the Ignominy of murd'ring the King, his Inability to obviate their secret Machinations; not being able to distinguish by their Countenances who were his Enemies, and consequently less capable to avoid their Malice which

which was so pressing upon him, that he
 had no safe Shelter from it but our Favour,
 which also could no otherwise be ascertain-
 ed to him than by our Gracious Disposi-
 tion to honour him with our Marriage: From
 whence he solemnly purposed to himself no
 higher degrees of Honour or Advancement:
 but the devoting himself more intirely to
 our Service, which he would do as long as
 he liv'd; with much more to this Effect:
 But when he found he could not work upon
 us either by his Prayers or Promises, he shew'd
 us at last what the Nobility had promis'd
 him under their Hands; what Astonish-
 ment this gave us coming so suddenly and
 unexpectedly, we leave to the King and
 Queen, our Uncles, and the rest of our Friends
 to judge: So that finding our self in another's
 Power, secluded from all Counsel and Advice,
 and seeing those, in whose Fidelity we
 thought we might confide, and without
 whom our Forces were but small, devote
 themselves to his Service; and our self left
 a Prey to his Desires, resolving in our Mind
 what Course to take, we could find none
 whereby to extricate our self. He on the
 other side would afford us no time for Con-
 sideration, but urg'd the point upon us with
 incessant Importunities. At length seeing
 our self divested of all Hopes of an Escape,
 and no one in our Kingdom that regarded
 the

the setting us at Liberty (for we easily perceived by their Subscriptions, and the general Silence of the Times, that every Body was on his side) we were forced to abate our Indignation by degrees, and dispose our Heart to a Consideration of his Suit; to take a Review in our Mind of his former Services, and to hope for his constant Perseverance in them for the future, considering likewise how ill our People would resent the admitting of a Foreigner, unskilful of the Laws and Customs, to the Throne; and that they would not suffer us to be unmarried long; that a People naturally factious would not be kept within the Bounds of Duty, unless we took a Man to our Assistance, that was fit to undergo the Trouble of th' Administration of publick Affairs, and quelling the Insolence of those that should rebel: To the sustaining whereof, since our return hither, we found our own Strength so much unequal, by the frequent Tumults and Rebellions, that we could no longer bear the Weight alone; and being forced to constitute several Lieutenants in divers Parts of the Kingdom, most of them made use of our Authority against us: For these Reasons we foresaw we could no longer preserve the Royal Dignity, but by inclining of our Thoughts to Marriage, and that our Subjects would not abide a Foreigner,

reigner, nor was there any Man at Home, that for Wisdom, Courage, and other Accomplishments of Mind and Body we could prefer or equal unto him we have taken for our Husband : Wherefore we prevailed upon our self to join our own Consent to the universal Concurrence of the Nobility, when as by these and other Arguments our Constancy was shaken, partly by Force, and partly by Intreaty, we were induced to promise him Marriage. Nor would his jealous Disposition suffer us to delay the Consummation, 'till we could communicate the Matter to the King and Queen of *France*, and other our good Friends; but being hasty to accomplish his Desires, he never left his solicitous Importunity, 'till he had in a manner forced us to compleat the Work we had begun, and that too in such a Time and Manner as might suit with his Designs; wherein not to dissemble, we were treated by him otherwise than we either deserved or desired : Being more solicitous to gratify those, by whose Consent he attain'd his end (tho' he equally deceived both them and us) than to allow us the Satisfaction of performing the Business with that Decency and Order, that was fitting for us, who had been always educated in the Rites and Ceremonies of our Religion, from which neither he nor any one alive shall be able to

to divert us whilst we live: Tho' in this we acknowledge to have done amiss, yet we heartily desire, that neither the King, nor the Queen his Mother, our Uncle, nor any other of our Friends would any further expostulate the Matter; or lay the Blame on him; for seeing the Business is done that cannot be revoked, we were willing to take all things in good part: And as he is in Truth, so we would have him to be lookt upon as our Husband; whom we are henceforward resolv'd to love and honour, expecting those that are our Friends should do the like to him; for altho' he has been in some things a little negligent and rash, which we are willing to attribute to his immoderate Affection towards us, yet we desire, that the King, the Queen, our Uncle, and the rest of our good Friends, would look upon him with the same Esteem, as if the Business had from the beginning been transacted by their own Direction, promising for him on the other hand, that he shall be ready to gratify them in any thing they shall require of him.

This was the Remedy she made use of to qualify the Reports that were largely spread abroad in Foreign Parts. Against Domestick Motions they provided to confirm with present Rewards and future Hopes, all those that had been Actors or Abettors

Abettors in the King's Murder, and to strike in with the greatest part of the Nobility, whom, when they had once got, they might the less Apprehend the rest, or if they happened to grow too troublesome take 'em off: Calling therefore a great many of them together, they proposed Articles in writing to them, which they were to Swear to; the substance whereof was this: That they should Stand by and Defend the Queen, and *Bothwell* in all their Actions: And they on their parts were to take care, for the Preservation and Benefit of those that should Associate with them there, that were present. Most part of them being perswaded beforehand did Subscribe, which was quickly followed by the rest, the Danger of refusing, over ballancing the Reproach of Joining with them. *Murray* was sent for, that his Authority, which for his Virtues sake was very great, might be joined unto them, who being privately advised by his Freinds not to stay all Night at *Seaton*, where the Queen and the chief of the Subscribers were, but rather to go off to some Neighbouring Friend's House; answered that was not in his Power, but howsoever the matter fell out, he would never consent to any wicked Practice, and commit the rest to God. Being askt by the Courtiers, whom the Queen had appointed

to Discourse him about the Confederacy, he answered that he could not in Honour and Justice enter into Covenant with the Queen, whom he was bound to obey in all things: That he was by the Queens Intercession Reconciled to *Bothwell*; what so ever he then Promised he would perform to a Tittle: But to enter into Covenant or Combination with him or any Body else, he neither thought it Reasonable, nor for the Service of the Common-Wealth: When the Queen had for some Days Discourst him, more gently then she used to do, and promised him to impart her Judgment, and Resolution in all things to him, and that shame would not suffer her to speak out; she set some of her Favourites to try how he stood Affected.

These by his strict Adherence to Justice and Right, were fearful to discover what they were to desire of him; when fair means would not do, at last *Bothwell* undertook him himself, and after several discourses said he did not undertake the business singly, nor of his own accord: Which Words the other took with a disdainful Countenance, whereupon *Bothwell* grew in Earnest, and began to use Discourses bordering upon Reproach, trying all the ways he could to bring the matter to a Quarrel; he on the other side gave such sober Answers, as they left no room for Heat, but

but kept himself steady, and not to be diverted from his Resolution. When in these Streights, *Murray* had stayed sometime, at length he asked the Queen's leave, that since he could be of no use at Court, he might retire to St. *Andrews*, or into *Murray*; for suspecting the Commotions which he foresaw would arise, he was desirous to be out of the way; when that was refused him, and that he could not stay at Court without great and certain Danger, at last he got leave to Travel, but upon Condition that he should not stay in *England*, but that he should go for *Flanders*, and so into *Germany*, or whether else he pleased; but because the going into *Flanders* were to expose him unto more apparent Danger, at last he obtained with much ado to go through *England* into *France*, and from thence to any place that he should think Commodious for himself.

The Queen being thus rid of a frank and popular Man, endeavours to remove all other Lets to Arbitrary Power, which arose from those that came not readily in to the Subscription, or did not acquiesce in her Determinations. But those she hated most of all; who perceiving her Affections as cold to her Son, as they had been to her Husband, had entred into an Association at *Sterling*, for no Evil purpose, but for the Defence and Safety of the Child; whom his

Mother endeavoured to bring within the *Jurisdiction* of his Father in Law: And he, no Body questioned, would rid himself of him as soon as he could; that he should not Live to Revenge his Fathers Death, or be a bar to his Childrens inheriting the Crown. The chief of this Confederacy were, the Earls of *Argile*, *Morton*, *Marre*, *Athol* and *Glencarne*; of the same Estate, and next to them in Quality, were *Patrick Lindsey* and *Robert Boyd*, with Friends and Dependants, that were joined to them. But *Argile* with the same Fickleness he did Consent, did likewise the very same Day Betray their Counsels to the Queen; and *Boyd* was also with Fair Promises drawn off to the other side. Next to these, those that Lived neer the *English* Borders were suspected, as the Families of the *Humes*, *Carrs* and *Scots*; whose Power they did think fit to lessen all they could, for which a fit occasion did Present it self: For *Bothwell* was preparing for an Expedition into *Lydale*, that he might wipe of the Ignominies which he had received there, the *Autumne* before, and by gaining Military applause, lessen the reproach of the King's Murder. The Heads of all the Families in *Tiviate*, were Commanded by the Queen to render themselves into *Edinburgh* Castle, there to be kept for a short time, as Pri-

soners at Large, upon pretence they might give some interruption to the Expedition, which it seemed could not be brought successfully about, if they should be against it, and thro' Envy give any Disturbance to the Business: Who being absent, their Followers and Dependants might be enured to the Commands of Strangers, and by degrees become less fond of their Patrons. But they supposing there was more in this Command than did appear above board, went home again in the Night, excepting *Andrew Carre*, who was generally thought to be no Stranger to the Parricide, and *Walter Carre* of *Sesford*, a Man of that great integrity, as that he suspected nothing. *Humes* though invited to the Court by *Bothwell*, well knowing how he stood Affected to him, refused to come: The business of the expedition goes forward, notwithstanding the Queen stayed at *Bothwick* Castle, about eight Miles from *Edinburgh*. In the mean time those that had Associated themselves for the Preservation of the young King, being not Ignorant how *Bothwell* stood inclined to them, and Concluding some things must be done, as well for their own Security, as to redeem the Honour of the *Scotish* Nation in Forreign Parts, by bringing the Author of the King's Murder to condigne Punishment, and thinking

likewise, that the Commonalty would favour their Proceedings, got together to the number of 2000 Horse, so secretly, that the Queen had no suspicion of their Motion, till *Humes* had with part of the Army Besieged her and *Bothwell*, together in *Bothwick Castle*; but the rest of the Confederates not coming up in time, nor he having Strength enough to Block up all the Passes, and things going on more slowly than was requisite in such a matter, first *Bothwell* escaped, and then the Queen herself in Mans Cloaths, and went strait away to *Dunbarre*. That the Confederates came no sooner together stuck at *Arbol*, who either struck with the greateness of the Attempt, or kept back by his natural Inclination to delays, detained the rest at *Sterling*, till the opportunity of doing the business was slipt out of their Hands; but that so great an undertaking should not come to nothing, the greater part are sent away to Possess themselves of *Edinburgh*; *James Balfore* was Governour of the Castle, which was committed to his Custody by *Bothwell*, as one that was engaged in the Parricide, either an Actor or Adviser in the whole designe. But having not been fully recompensed for his Paines, and perceiving himself in less esteem with the Tyrants than he thought of, (for they had endeavoured

voured to get the Castle out of his Hands) having weeded out those he most distrusted, reduced the place wholly to his own Authority : And had not only promised the public Avengers of the Parricide, that they should receive no harm from thence, but treated with them about the delivering of it up. There was then of the Queen's Party in Town, *John Hambleton* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley* and *John Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse*, who perceiving that their Enemies were received into the Town, hastened into the Market Place, and offered to Head the Multitude ; but seing but a few come into them, they were forced to Retreat into the Castle, where being let in by *Belfore*, they were in a few Days let out safely another way ; for *Belfore* having not yet made his Terms with the one side, would not too hastily cut himself out of all hopes with the other. The Town came readily into the Conspirators, for their Taxes were Raised upon them by the Queen a little while before ; and finding little hopes of Redress, or Abatement in that universal Poverty, were unanimously Offended at her Arbitrary Proceedings, and as often as opportunity served for declaring their Resentments, Cried out against their Evil Administration. The Queen and *Bothwell* es-

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caping at *Bothwick*, as we said, by the slowness of the Confederates, went with a small attendance to *Dunbarre*, and shut themselves up in that strong Castle: Whence ensued so great a change of Affairs; that they who were but lately in very great Distress, by an universal Confluence, either of those that were linked in with them in their wicked Enterprizes, or such as were blindly led by the Face of Authority, thought themselves strong enough to Encounter their Adversaries. On the other Hand the Assertours of their Liberties were brought into great streights; for contrary to their expectation, but a few coming in upon the report of so famous an undertaking, the heat of the populacy beginning to abate, as is usual, and a great part of the Nobility were either against them, or held off to see the event of other Peoples Danger; so that in fine, tho' the Assertors were superior in number, yet they were destitute of all Military Provision, for the Storming of Castles. Wherefore finding no likelihood of Success in their undertaking, and reduc't to some necessity, they were thinking of returning back without doing any thing: The Queen removed their Hesitations, for she gathering Heart by daily accession of fresh Forces, resolved with the great numbers she had with her to go to *Leeth*, to try

try her Fortune at a nearer hand, and thinking too, that her Presence would beget a greater Concourse, and her Boldness intimidate her Enemies: For their late Success had so puffed up their Minds, that they thought no body would dare to abide their first Approaches: Which Confidence was cherisht by their Flatterers, and principally *Edmond Hayes* a Lawyer, who affirmed that all things would stoop to their Force; and their Enemies being in Want, both of Necessaries and Advice, would be gone upon the News of their coming: Whereas in Truth the Matter was quite otherwise, and nothing in the present Conjunction could be more useful to them than Delay; for if she had stayed but three Days longer in the Castle of *Dunbarre*, the Associates being destitute of Ammunition, the Enterprize had been frustrated, and they enforced to disband, and every Man go Home. She, notwithstanding, removed from *Dunbarre*, whether through ill Advice or Vain-glorious Humour was uncertain, with slow and easy Marches, that she might alarm the Country People as she past along: At length they came to *Seaton* in the Night, and because that Village could not receive so great a Multitude, they were sent to quarter in the two *Prestons*; from whence a Messenger came in great Fear to
Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, a little before Midnight, and presently gave the Alarm : Where the Associates getting up in great Confusion, drew out as fast as they could into the adjacent Field, and there about Sun-rise, having got together a considerable Body, drew up, and went from thence to *Musselburg*, 2 Miles from *Preston*, that they might pass the *Eske* before the Fords and Bridges were possessed by the Enemy ; but when they met with no Body, having set their Guards and Centries, they took some Refreshment. In the mean time, the Scouts that were sent out seeing a few stragling Horse, they beat 'em into the Village ; but not daring to pursue for fear of an Ambush, could not bring back again any certain Account, but that the Enemy was upon their March ; wherefore the Associates marching from *Musselburg*, saw the Enemy drawn up and posted upon the Brow of the Hill over-against them. The Ascent was so steep that they could not go strait forwards to 'em, but wheeling about a little to the right, both to get the Sun on their Backs, and an easier Ascent up the Hill, that they might engage them at a better Advantage ; which Policy of theirs did at first deceive the Queen, who thought they were running away to *Dalkeith*, a little Town hard by belonging to the Earl of *Morton* : For she was persuaded that

that the Name of a King carried such an Awe along with it, that none durst be so hardy as to look it in the Face; but there it easily appeared, that as Authority is gain'd by virtuous Actions, so it is lost again by ill ones; and Majesty that has not those for its support will in a little time dwindle away to nothing.

In their March the Inhabitants of *Dalkeith* being Popularly inclin'd, brought them forth Provision of all sorts, wherewith having refresht themselves, and quencht their Thirsts, being very dry with their March, at the first convenient Place they came at, they divided themselves into two Battalions: The first was led by *Morton* and *Alexander Hume*, with their Followers, the other by the Earls of *Blencarne*, *Marre*, and *Athol*. There being ready to engage, came to them Monsieur *Le Crague* the French Agent, who having told them by his Interpreter what a Care he ever had of the Benefit and publick Tranquility of the *Scots*, he continu'd still of the same Mind, and did earnestly desire, if it were possible, that the Business might be compos'd without Blows to the equal Advantage of both Parties; to which he was ready to contribute his Assistance, and that the Queen was not averse to peaceful Counsels: Which that they might be better assur'd of, she promis'd her Pardon for
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the present, and an Act of Oblivion for all Offences past, and did solemnly engage that no Man should be question'd for taking up Arms against the supreme Magistrate; which when the Interpreter had acquainted them with, *Morton* reply'd, That he had not taken Arms against the Queen, but against the Murderer of the King, whom if the Queen would deliver up to condigne Punishment, or separate her Interest from his, she should find that nothing was more desired either by himself, or the rest of her Subjects there assembled, than to continue in their Duty to her Majesty, otherwise no Agreement could be concluded on: To which *Glencarne* added that they came not thither armed to sue for Pardon, but rather to bestow it. *Le Crague* perceiving their Obstinacy, and understanding that as they said nothing but what was true, so their Demands were not unreasonable, having taken leave, went off to *Edinburgh*. In the mean time, the Queen's Army kept themselves posted in the old Camp, which the *English* had formerly made there, being a Place that overlookt the rest, and compass'd in with a Ditch and Rampire: Where *Bothwell* mounted on a prancing Steed, advances before the Army, and sends out a Trumpet to challenge any Man on the other side to single Combat, which being accepted

ted by *James Murray*, a young Gentleman, that had before offer'd himself in the same manner by a Paper posted up without a Name, as we have formerly observ'd; Him *Bothwell* refused, by reason he was not equal to him, either in Honour or Estate. Then stept out *William Murray*, *James's* his Elder Brother, and said, if Money was to be the Standard in this Matter, he was not inferiour in Wealth to *Bothwell*; and for the Antiquity or Reputation of their Families, his was Superiour. He is likewise refus'd, as one that was but barely a Knight, and but of the second Rank of the Nobility: And after several Persons of the highest Rank, and in particular, *Patrick Lindsey* desired as a Reward of the former Services he had undergone, for the Safety and Honour of the *Scotch* Name, that he might have leave to fight with *Bothwell*; He there likewise endeavour'd to sneak off, but having no plausible Excuse the Queen interposed her Authority, and by commanding him from meddling in the Business of a single Combat, took up the matter, and after riding about the Army tried how they stood affected to her. *Bothwell's* Kindred and Dependants were forward and desirous to engage the Enemy; the rest, as she came to them, told her, that there were great Soldiers and Men inur'd to Warfare in the
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other Army, that the Queen would run great Danger in the Hazard of a Battel: For themselves, they were ready to fight, but the common sort of People, whereof their Forces did for the most part consist, were absolutely against it, that it seem'd much more reasonable, that *Borbwell* should fight his own Quarrels himself, than to draw in so many Noblemen, and which was most of all, the Queen her self, into so imminent a Danger: But if she was so absolutely resolv'd upon a Battle, the Businels might at least be deferred, 'till the next Day; For 'twas said, that *Hambleton*, was not far off with a Recruit of 500 fresh Horse, and when those were come up, they might consider what to do; the Earl of *Huntly*, and *James Hambleton*, and Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, had summon'd their Neighbours and Tenants into *Hambleton*, and were to come the next Day to the Queen, wheretunto she all enrag'd and in Tears returned her Answer in reproachful Terms to the Officers, and sent a Messenger to the Enemy, to send over *William Kirtadye*, of *Grange*, to her; whom she would parly with, in order to a Treaty: And the Armies in the mean time not to make any Advance. The Confederate Army lay still in a lower Place where they were cover'd

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from the Enemies Cannon: While the Queen was parlying with *Kircadye*, which was only to give *Bothwell* opportunity for his Escape, he fled to *Dunbarre* in so great a Fear, that he sent back 2 Horsemen that follow'd him, being so conscious to himself that he durst hardly trust his Friends. When she thought *Bothwell* was out of Danger, she agreed with *Kircadye* that the rest of the Army should be sent quietly away, and came along with him to the other Nobles in a poor torn Riding Coat, that scarcely cover'd her Knees, and was received by the first Battalion with all Respect and Reverence; but desiring to go over to the *Hambletons*, upon promise that she would return again and render her self; and saying, That she knew *Morton* would engage for her (for she was in hopes to come over them with fair Promises) which failing to obtain, she fell into bitter Language, reproaching the Officers with her former Favours to them, and what she had deserved from them. They heard her with great Silence: But when she came to the 2d Battalion, an unanimous Shout was set up; *Burne the Whore, Burne the Murderess*. They had got in one of their Colours King *Henry* painted dead, and his Son by him, praying for Revenge from Heaven upon his Fathers Murderers, which

which Ensign was carry'd by 2 Soldiers betwixt 2 Pikes, and which way soever she turned was set before her Face; at sight whereof she fell into such an Agony, that she could hardly be held on Horseback; but recovering her self she abated nothing of her former Rage, pouring out together with her Tears, Threats, Curses, and what ever else a Woman's Passion could suggest. She made all the Delay she could in her March, in hopes of some Relief to come in to her, but some Body cry'd out in the Crowd, it was to no purpose to expect the *Hambletons*, for that there was not any Body to be seen in Arms for many Miles. At length, when it was almost Night, she enter'd into *Edinburgh*, the People generally running out to behold the Sight, her Face so clouted with Tears and Dust, as if it had been sprinkled over with Dirt. She pass'd thro' a great part of the City in deep Silence, the way being so filled up with People, that they could hardly march in single File. When she came to her Lodgings, one Woman in the Crowd cry'd, *God bless her*; but she turning about to the People, besides other Threats added, that she would fire the City, and quench it again with the Blood of its perfidious Inhabitants: But as she looked out at Window all in Tears, and a great Concourse of People before it,
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and some being there that did commiserate her Misfortune, the Ensign is again displayed before her Eyes, whereupon she shut the Window and withdrew her self; where after she had been kept for the space of two Days, she was by Order of the Lords sent Prisoner to *Locklevin* Castle, for *Belfore* yet kept that of *Edinburgh*; who tho' he favoured the Assertors of the Liberties, he had not yet treated with them for the Delivering up of the Castle.

Whilst these things past in *Scotland*, the Bishop of *Dumblain*, who was sent over Ambassador into *France*, to excuse the Queens Marriage, being ignorant of all that was past in *Scotland* since his Departure thence, arrived at Court, and obtained a Day of Audience, which happened that very Morning the King and his Mother had received two Letters out of *Scotland*, from *le Crague* their Ambassador; and *Nimman Cockburne*, that had for some Years been a Collonel of Horse in *France*; both of them giving an account of the last Transactions in *Scotland*. When the Ambassador therefore was conducted into the Presence Chamber, and began a long and florid Oration, partly to excuse the Queens hasty Marriage, without consulting of her Friends, and partly in Magnification of *Bothwell*; wherein he ventured to stretch the Point a little beyond
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the Truth; the *French* Queen interrupting his vain Elogy, produced the Letters that gave them an account of the Queens Captivity, and *Bothwell's* Flight; whereupon in an amazed Confusion, he held his Peace; those that were present, not being able to forbear some of them to Smile, others to Laugh outright at his surprize; nor was there any that thought it happened unlickily upon him. Much about this time *Bothwell* sent a trusty Servant of his unto the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to bring him a little Silver Cabinet, set about with Letters; by which it seemed to have formerly belong'd to *Francis* King of *France*, wherein were Letters written mostly with the Queens own Hand, plainly containing the Murder of the King, and most of the Occurrences that ensued upon it: And in almost all of 'em, directions were given for the Burning of the Letters, as soon as they were read: But *Bothwell*, who was pretty well acquainted with the Queens Inconstancy, having in a few Years space seen fair examples of it, had kept the Letters, that if he should chance to have any difference with her, these would be good Testimonials to shew the World he was not the principal Author, but only an Assistant in the Murder: This Cabinet did *Belfore* deliver to *Bothwell's* Servant to carry to his
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Master, but had before given notice to the Heads of the adverse Party of the thing, by whom, and whither it was sent; the taking of which brought many things to light, which were before, but under a suspicion, and were not 'till then, so plainly discovered, but this laid all the business fully open.

Now this went ill on all Hands with *Bothwell*, who being destitute of all help and to Hopes of recovering the Kingdom, Fled first the *Orcades*, and then to the Isle of *Orkney*; where being reduc't to great Distress and Want, he turned Pirate: The Queen, tho' she was perswaded by many to seperate her Cause from *Bothwells*, after whose Punishment, they did not question her Restitution; yet being of a stubborn Disposition, and her Mind not at all declining with her fortune, but rather more incens't, answered; That she had rather live in the worst Extremity of fortune with him, than in all the Delights and Pleasures of a Court without him.

But now the Nobles began to be of several Opinions; for the Avengers of the King's Murder, were in hopes that most, if not all, would come into them, upon the Report of so famous an Enterprize; but it fell out quite otherwise; for the popular enmity began to abate with time, and the consideration of the inconstancy of human

Affairs, had sweetned it into Compassion, nor did there want those among the Nobility, that did as much deplore the Queens present misfortune, as they had in former Days abhorred her Cruelty, and both, more thro' frickleness of Mind, than stedfast adherence to either side, insomuch that it was plainly evident they did not designe the the Publick Tranquility, but rather to Fish in troubled Waters : Others desirous of Ease, weighed with themselves the strength of each Party, and were accordingly inclinable to joyn with the strongest side ; the greatest party seemed to consist of those that were either consenting to the Murder, or to please the Queen, had subscribed to what was done in sequel of it ; the Chief whereof being met at *Hambleton*, and had pretty well feathered their Nests, would receive neither Letters nor Messages touching the Establishment of a Common Unity from the contrary Party ; but on the other hand pursued 'em with Contumelious Language, and was the warmer against them, because a great many of the Nobles that regarded more the turnes of Fortune, than the Justice of the Cause, did not come into the Assertors of the Liberties ; and whosoever did not actually joyn with those they concluded to be theirs, besides they esteemed it a peice of Arrogance

gance in the avengers of the Murder, to march into that City, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, before they had sent them, who were greater than themselves, both in Numbers and Power. The other Party, tho' they were so far from an imperious Temper, that their requests were all Submissive, and that there might be no Colour of adjudging them guilty of the least Arrogance, they prevail with the Ministers of the Church, that they would not only write in generall to all, but send particular Letters to every one, that they would not in such a dangerous Conjunction decline a publick unity, and laying all private Animosity aside, would consider of expedients for the preservation of the Publick Welfare; which Letters were no more successful, than the others formerly written by the Nobles, all of 'em sending their excuses in such manner, as lookt like a thing concerted and agreed upon among them. The Queens Party, after having met in several places, and come to no issue in their Consultation; fell off from one another. Mean while the Avengers of the *Parricide* were instant with the Queen (since they could not sever her from the Actors of the Murder) for resigning up the Kingdom, and that upon pretence either of want of Health or some other plausible excuse, she would com-

mit the Care of her Son and Administration of publick Affairs to such an one of the Nobility, as she should think fit. She is at length with much ado, perswaded to nominate Governors for her Son *James Earl of Murray*, in case he would accept of the imployment at his returne home; *James Duke of Chatelrault*, the Earls of *Lenox*, *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarne* and *Marre* Procurators, were likewise sent to take Orders about the Coronation of the young King, either at *Sterling*, or what other place they should think more Convenient. These things happened the 24th of July 1567.

A little before the Day, the Earl of *Murray*, having received an account how matters went in *Scotland*; in his return thro' *France*, was civilly, but coldly enough received by that Court, and not in equal degree with *Hambleton*, whose Party the *French* concluded to be much more firm and united to them; which was done by the Practice of the *Gaifes*, who were averse to all the designes of *Murray*; And after he was dismiss, the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*, who called himself the Queen of *Scots's* Ambassador, had perswaded the Court, that tho' *Murray* had been absent, yet he was Head of the contrary Party, and that in former times all things had been transacted by his advice; and now he was called home by his

his Companions, to be put at the Head of them. Whereupon they sent to fetch him back; but he being warned by his Friends, was put off from *Pie* (where he took Shipping) before the King's Letters got thither: And after an Honourable Treatment in *England*, by Persons of all Qualities, is sent home; where he was received with the universal Joy of the People, but chiefly the Assertors, all being earnest with him, that the King his Nephew being yet an Infant, he would undertake the Administration of the Government in regard that he was the only Person both as well for his Relation, as for his known Virtues in so many Dangers past, and the Grace and Favour due to his merits, (the Queen herself requiring it of him too) that could with the least envy manage that Employ: He, tho' he knew that what they said was in great measure true, yet begged a few Days time to Consider of it, and in the mean while wrote to the Heads of the other Party, and principally to *Argile* being his Kinsman, and whom for old Acquaintance sake he would in no wise Offend; Shewing him how matters stood, what the Young King's Party prest upon him, he desired him by their Affinity of Blood, by their Friendship, and for the safety of their Country to assist him with his Presence,

that by his help, himself and their Country, for which they were equally concerned, might be delivered out of the streights that both were in; and to the rest according unto every ones Concerne; But prays them all in general, that since Affairs were under that Discomposure, that they could not long subsist without a Magistrate in Chief, they would please to Convene in whatsoever place they thought most fitting, to take care by their united Advice, that all things might be managed for the best: At length, when he could neither obtain a Conference with one Party, nor a farther protraction of a Parliament with the other, was Chosen Regent, by the unanimous Consent of all there present. And now the Young King,

JAMES the VI. began his Reign the 29th of July, whose Coronation was Celebrated in an excellent Sermon, Preacht by *John Knox*, *James* Earl of *Morton* and *Alexander Hume* taking the Oath in his behalfe, that he Thou'd Preserve the Doctrine and Rites of the Religion, then openly profess to the utmost of his Power, and oppose the contrary. After a few Days those that had met at *Hambleton*, were vexed to see a few, and those not of the most powerful neither, to take upon them the Administration of Affairs without their Consent; where-

whereupon they tryed the rest of the Nobility, but were able to bring over few to their Opinions, besides those that actually met; most of 'em desiring rather to be accounted Spectators, than Actors in the present management of Affairs: At length they wrote to the King's Party, that *Argile* was ready to give the Earl of *Murray* a meeting to discourse the business with him; which Letters, because they were directed barely to the Earl of *Murray*, without affording him any greater Title, were thought fit by the Council to be rejected, and the Messenger sent away, without vouchsafing him an Answer. But *Argile* being not ignorant of what gave Offence in the Letters, relying upon the Regents Honour, came to *Edinburgh* with some of the Leading Men of his Party; and being satisfied, that the necessity of things required a speedy dispatch, and that the setting up a Magistrate in chief arose from thence, and not upon any Slight or Disregard of those that were absent; came a few Days after to the Parliament.

End of the Third Book.

AN

(250)

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Affairs of *SCOTLAND*,

From the DEATH of
JAMES the Fifth,
'Till the Death of the Earl of
Murray Regent of *Scotland*,
1571.

BOOK IV.

After the Coronation of the King,
and that the Regent's Authority
was in a manner establish'd, Arms
were laid aside on all hands ; yet
a disjointed Peace, and Mens Passions be-
ing

ing still a-float, and their Rancour unatoned, were dangerous Signs of some unhappy Storm a-brewing. In this uncertain State of things the Eyes and Hearts of all were fixt upon the ensuing Parliament, which was to meet the 25th of *August*, which was celebrated with so great a Concourse and Resort as the like had not been known within the Memory of Man; there the Regent's Authority is confirm'd by Act of Parliament; concerning the Queen Opinions were various; for the whole Matter of the late horrid Murder, being both by Circumstance and Witnesses, but most of all by her Letters to *Bothwell* manifestly known, some incens'd at the Barbarousness of the Crime, others, whom the Queen had took in to be Parties with her, and were therefore forward to take off her Testimony against them, were of Opinion that she ought to be punish'd according to Law, yet the Major Vote adjudg'd her to Imprisonment. The Winter Sessions was for the most part taken up in trying and punishing Offenders; the *French* and *English* Ambassadors had Audience given them, but neither of them suffer'd to visit the Queen, who was committed to publick Custody. *Bothwell* remain'd the only Man in Arms, roving about the *Orcades* and Northern Isles, for the apprehending of whom a Fleet is order'd
to

to be fitted out. The publick Treasury was then so low, they were forced to borrow Money for it of the Earl of *Morton*, whose single Purse supply'd the publick Want. *Bothwell* thought himself pretty secure, as well by reason of the Storms which in the Winter Season were very violent in those Seas, as the Lowness of the Exchequer, which himself had helpt to drain; yet had like to have been taken unawares by *Kircaldye* of *Grange*, who commanded the Fleet; several of his Comerades were catcht, himself with a few others escap'd by the far side of the Island upon the Flats and Shallows, where the Ships of Burden could not follow him, and went over into *Denmark*; where, while he was yet in doubt whither to go or what Course to steer, he is seiz'd upon and thrown into Prison, and afterwards being known by some Merchants, laid up in Irons; where continuing near 10 Years in Filth and Misery, and at last growing mad, his Beastly Life met with a deserved End.

In the beginning of the Spring, the Regent designed a Progress thro' the Kingdom, and to set up Justice Courts in every place he came, to rectify and establish what had been shaken and disorder'd in the late Disturbances: Which thing had a various Accepration, accordingly as Men stood affected

fected or concerned: For those of the adverse Party cry'd out upon the Regent's Severity, or rather Cruelty as they term'd it, a dreadful thing to them whose late Enormities durst not look Justice in the Face, after such a Licentious Time as they had had of late; but if the Queen could be set at Liberty, some had a Prospect of Rewards, others of Impunity, which prevailing upon a great many; and even some of those that were principally concern'd in the apprehending of her, drew them off to the other side. *Maitland*, who tho' he was inclinable to the Service of the Queen, yet he had as much Aversion and Hatred for *Bothwell*, as a wicked and perfidious Man, and one that sought his Death; and because he thought while the Queen was out of Danger he could not do his Business for him, he was easily drawn to give his Vote in all publick Courts for the bringing her to Punishment according to the Laws and Custom of their Ancestors. Under the same Circumstances was *Belfore*, believing that *Bothwell* could never forgive him, and neither of them was thought to be absolute Strangers to the King's Murder.

But *Bothwell* being now close Prisoner in *Denmark*, they set their Minds upon delivering the Queen, not only in hopes that they might gain a Pardon from her, that was equally

equally involv'd in the Guilt, but they also thought, that she who had not stuck at the Murder of her Husband, would be as little tender of her Son, who, tho' but a Child, was yet able by his Interest in the Crown to dispossess her of the Kingdom: And they judg'd it inconsistent with their Safety to have a Son enjoy the Throne that might avenge the Murder of his Father: The Queen her self gave some Umbrages of her not being totally averse to such a purpose. For she was often heard to say, that the Child was not long-liv'd; and that a Man at *Paris* well vers'd in calculating Nativities, had told her, that her first Child should not live above a Year: And 'twas believ'd, she came in Confidence of this to *Sterling* some time ago, to bring the Child with her to *Edinburgh*: Which *Aireskin* the Governour suspecting, would not trust him out of his own Custody: And a great part of the Nobility associated themselves at *Sterling* for the Child's Preservation. The *Hambletons* did likewise stickle hard for the Queen's Delivery; because when she had dispatch'd the Child, they were one Step nearer in their Hopes to the Kingdom, and that afterwards it would be no great matter of Difficulty or Danger, to remove her also; as being universally hated for the Evils she had done; and by the Interruption of
her

her Arbitrary Purposes would be the more exasperated to Cruelty. *Argile*, and *Huntley*, one whereof had a Mother and the other a Wife out of the Family of *Hambleton* cherish'd their Hopes, and favour'd their Designs: But they acted upon Principles of their own, and of a nearer Concern to them, which gave occasion to believe that they were both acquainted with the Queen's abominable Practices.

William Murray, of *Tilibardin*, being of a contrary Opinion in Matters of Religion, and upon a private account offended with the Regent, altho' he had been before a great Assistant in the taking of the Queen, yet then he did not only leave the King's Party himself, but likewise brought over a great Number of his Friends along with him, putting them in no small hopes of mighty Matters. These were indeed the principall Engagers in the Queen's Delivery; but there was several others also, whom either private Necessity at Home, or secret Enmity, Revenge of Injuries, or Hopes of Preferment had engaged in the same Cause, or such as were by Relation or Dependancy linked in with them.

In this uneasy Posture of Affairs, the Regent mov'd neither by the Prayers of his Friends, nor Menaces of his Enemies, tho' Libels were thrown out intimating the Causes

ses of their Hatred, and desire of Revènge, and some that pretended Skill in Divination, as being privy to the Conspiracies that were then in hand against him, had foretold the Day of his Death : He stood yet unshaken, and would often say, he knew well enough, that he must lose his Life one time or other; but that he could not part with it, upon more honourable Terms, than by endeavouring to procure the Peace and Safety of his Country. Having therefore appointed the first Meeting to be at *Glasgow*, those of *Lenox*, *Renfroy*, and *Arran*, being summon'd in, while he is imploy'd in trying and punishing Offenders; the Design of setting the Queen at Liberty, that had been long under Consideration, was at last brought about, which was thus.

There was in *Lochlevin* Castle, where the Queen was kept Prisoner, the Regents Mother and three of his Brothers by another Father, and a great Company of Women, and none were admitted to visit her but those that were known to, or sent by the Regent; of all this Company the Queen thought the Regent's youngest Brother *George Douglass* to be fittest for her purpose, being a young Man that wanted not Wit, and whose Age a Woman's Arts might prevail upon with Ease. He being often in her Company upon the Diversions usual in Courts;

Courts, undertook to gain the common Servants of the Castle to his purpose, and she was as careful not to deny him any thing; whom she had intrusted and expected her Delivery from: Therefore *George* having procur'd an Indemnity to his Partizans, and inveigled with the hopes of future Wealth and Honour (neither was his Mother thought to be ignorant of the Business) lets no Occasion slip that might favour his Design, which tho' some had discover'd and acquainted the Regent with; yet he did so much rely upon the Fidelity of his own People, that he made no Alteration in the Persons he had formerly set about the Queen; but only commanded *George* out of the Island; who having fix'd himself in the Village next adjoining to the Lake, did by the means of the Servants, whom he had bribed, correspond more freely with the Queen about their Design. So that not only the *Scots*, who were not at all pleased with the present Face of Affairs, were drawn into the Confederacy, but the *French* also were solicited by *Hambleton*, that had not long ago been Regent, and *James Beton*, Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, the former promising Assistance and the latter Money.

About the end of *April*, 1568. comes an Ambassador from *France*, requiring in
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the King's Name, that he might have leave to wait upon the Queen, pretending, that if it were deny'd him, he would presently be gone again : The Regent told him it was not in his Power, neither was the Queen imprison'd by him, nor could he determine any thing without advising with those that had first committed her to Custody, and had after warranted the Fact by publick Ediſt : But he would willingly gratify his Sister, and the King his Friend, in what he could, and would therefore appoint a Meeting of the Nobility, the 20th Day of the next Month.

The Ambaſſador was a little more pacified with this Answer, and the Regent busy in his Tryals, the Queen having corrupted one of the Watermen, and the rest of his Comerades sent out of the way upon some Pretence or other, was carried out of the Lake ; which when those that were at Dinner in the Castle heard of, they made a great Bustle, but in vain ; for all the Boats were hall'd a-shore, and the Holes in the Oar Banks stop't up in all of them, that there was no Possibility of a present Pursuit. The Queen was receiv'd by the Horsemen that waited for her on the other side, and being conveyed from House to House by the Conspirators, she came the next Day with a great Train to *Hambleton*, which Tower

is 8 Miles distant from *Glasgow*. The Business quickly taking Air, many Persons began as suddenly to alter thier Measures accordingly, as they thought the Parties likeliest to prevail: Some staying still with the Regent, and others going over to the Queen. Among the many Tergiversations that arose at that time, none gave greater Occasion of Wonder, nor fill'd Mens Mouths more than that of *Robert Boyd*, who had 'till that time had the Reputation of a discreet and steady Person, and had all along adhered to the Regent, and those of the King's Party; but now took Occasion to leave all his old Friends, and go over to the Queen. Mean while the Regent and his Council were in great Debate, whether they should stay there or go away to *Sterling*, where the King then was. Many were of the latter Opinion, urging the Nearness of the Town of *Hambleton*, the great Interest and Dependancies that Family had in those Quarters, besides a matter of 500 Horse that came along with the Queen, and many were said to be upon their March from Places farther distant: With the Regent were few more than his own Retinue, the rest being either stoll'n away to the Queen, or pretending private Business of their own, were gone away; and tho' those of *Glasgow* seem'd faithful enough, as being often injur'd and oppress'd

by the *Hambletons*, who carried all before 'em in those Parts, yet 'twas but a stragling Town and thin of People, and easy of approach on all sides: On the other side, it was objected, that the whole Matter depended upon making true Steps at first, that to depart would be Loss of Reputation, and next to running away; that all Suspicion of Fear was in this Crisis to be avoided, lest they should increase their Enemies Courage and abate their own; that the Families of *Cuningshams* and *Semples* were near at hand; and on the other side, they had *Lenox* the King's peculiar Patrimony, whence those that were nearest might be had in a few Hours, and the others in a Day or two at farthest: In the mean time, 'till Recruits could come from farther distance; these together with the Townsmen, were Strength enough for the present. This Advice was approv'd of in Council: The *French* Ambassador went betwixt 'em rather as a Spy, than as a Mediator, as he pretended; for when he perceived at first but a slender Force at *Glasgow*, and great Numbers about *Hambleton*, he mightily encouraged the Queen to venture an Engagement. Now the Regent having got some Friends together out of the next adjacent Parts, he waited for others to come further out of *Merch* and *Lothian*: These, when they came, being

ing about 600 Chosen Men, he gave 'em one Days Rest, and resolved then to march to *Hambleton*, and if possible, to engage the Enemy ; concluding, that Delays would be prejudicial to himself, and advantageous to them, whom the remoter Parts of the Kingdom had a greater Favour for. The Regent about two Days after was inform'd by his Scouts, that the Enemy was gathered together from several Places where they were quartered, trusting to their Numbers, which upon their Rendezvous amounted to above 6500 Men, and they knew that the Regent had hardly 4000; they resolved therefore to march by *Glasgow*, and leaving the Queen in *Dunbarton* Castle, to have it in their own Power, either to fight or march as they thought fit ; or in case the Regent should give 'em a Meeting, which they did not expect he would, then forthwith to engage him, not in the least doubting of Success. But he whose Aim was to provoke the Enemy to fight, drew out as soon as he could, and stood for some Hours with his Army ready drawn up in the open Fields before the Town, where he thought the Enemy would pass ; but when he saw their Army keep on upon the other side of the Water, he presently understood their Design, and march'd his Foot over the Bridge, and his Horse thro' the Fords, the Tyde
 S 3 being

being out, and ordered them to go to *Lan-*
side. This Town is situated upon the Ri-
 ver *Cartham* where the Enemy must pass
 at the Foot of a Hill looking West to-
 wards *Ireland*, on the East and North some-
 what steep to approach, on the other Parts
 of a more easy Ascent: Thither they ha-
 stened with such Speed, that the King's For-
 ces were almost possess'd of the Hill, before
 the Enemy, that aimed at the same place,
 understood their Design, tho' they marcht
 thitherwards a nearer way. But two things
 happen'd as unluckily to them as fortunate-
 ly to the King's Party; the one, that *Gile-*
speak Cambell Earl of *Argile*, that was Com-
 mander in Chief, being seiz'd with a sud-
 den Pain fell down, and by his Fall gave a
 Halt to their March; the other was that
 their Army was oftentimes sunk in the lit-
 tle Valleys, so as they could never have a
 full View of the King's Forces at once,
 whom they believ'd too weak, as indeed
 they were, that they despis'd 'em as much,
 as they undervalued the Roughness of the
 Places, where they marcht: At length the
 Queen's Forces coming nearer, and seeing
 the Place they drove at in the Enemies Pos-
 session they drew up upon a light Ascent
 of a Hill over against them, and divided
 themselves into two Battalions: In the first
 they placed the chiefest of their Force, be-
 lieving

lieving that if with that they gave but a brisk Charge upon the contrary Wing of the Enemy, the rest, astonisht at their Flight, would become an easy Conquest.

The King's Party likewise divided themselves into two Bodies; in that on the right hand were *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Semple*, *Alexander Hume*, *Patrick Lindsey*, with their Followers: In the Left were *John* Earl of *Marre*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, *William* Earl of *Menteith*, and the Citizens of *Glasgow*. Their Muskateers were posted in the Village and Gardens next adjoining to the High-way. The Armies being now ready to join Battle, the Queen's Foot being beat off by the King's, gave ground; on the other hand, the King's Horse being inferiour in Number by one half, were beaten back. The other side having routed the Horse, designed to break into the Foot also, and to that purpose endeavouring to march their Body up the Hill, were so warmly receiv'd by the Kings Archers, and part of the Horse that had rallied again, and join'd their own Forces, that they gave back. Mean while the Left Wing of the Enemy moving softly down the steep of the Hill, by the High-way into the Valley, altho' they were galled in their March by their Enemies Musketeers, yet
getting

getting thro' the narrow Ways, drew up their Body.

These two Squadrons, each of them well fortify'd in the Front with a thick Bulwark of Lancers, engaged so fiercely for the space of half an Hour, neither yielding to the other, that breaking their Spears in Shivers, they threw what remain'd of broken Spears, Lances, Stones, or whatever else came to hand, in the Faces of their Enemies. But when some in the Rear of the King's Army (whether out of Fear or Treachery was uncertain) began to fly, their Flight had doubtless disheartned the others that were fighting, but that the Thickness of the Ranks hindred those in the Front from perceiving what was done in the Rear; but those in the second Wing apprehending the Danger, and seeing no Body come against them, sent out a Recruit, who wheeling off a little to the Right, came up and joined their owned Body. The adverse Party being not able to sustain their Charge, were presently beaten back, and put to the Rout: Nor had the vanquisht come off without great Slaughter (many Mens Minds boyl-ing with private Anger and Revenge) had not the Regent sent out Horse into all Parts to forbid them killing those that fled. The second Wing of the King's Army when they had stood so long, 'till they saw the
Enemy

Enemy quite routed and runing away in disorder, they likewise betook themselves to the pursuit of those that Fled.

The Queen who stood about a Mile off, to behold the Battle, fled towards *England*, with the Horse that had come off intirely from the Army; the rest went every one the best way they could find for themselves: There fell but few in the Battle, many being found lying in the Fields, spent with Fatigue and Wounds; the number of all that were Slaine, not amounting to above 300, but more taken Prisoners; not so many Wounded on the King's Part, as on the other the principal among whom, were *Alexander Humes* and *Andrew Stewart*, but one Slain, the rest of the Army, excepting those that were gon father in pursuit of the Enemy, betook themselves with joy into the Town. And when they had given God Thanks, who had according to the Justness of their Cause, given them an almost unbloody Victory over an Army so much Superiour to theirs in Force and Number, after Caressing one another they went to Dinner.

This Battle was Fought the 13th Day of *May*, 11 Days after the Queen's Escape out of Custody. The *French* Ambassador, who had waited the event of the Battle, and had in his Mind ascertained the Victory

ry on the Queen's side; being Defeated of his Hopes, laid his Character aside, and without speaking to the Regent, to whom he pretended to be sent; having hired Horses and Guides, took the nearest way for *England*: But being Robbed by the way, *James Douglas* Laird of *Dumlandrike*, tho' he knew he was on the Enemies side, yet he had that Honour and Respect for the Name of an Ambassador, as to order the Restitution of his Goods. The Regent spent the remainder of the Day the Battle was Fought on, in taking a view of the Prisoners, some whereof he sent freely away, others upon Security: The principal Persons, and especially those of the Family of *Hambleton*, were detained and disposed of into Custody. The next Day knowing how much those People were hated by their Neighbours, forbidding the rest of the Crowd to follow; he went accompanied only with 500 Horse into the Vale of *Arren*, where he found all places filled with the marks of Flight, and Devastation; the Inhabitants misdoubting more their own Demerits, than of hope in the Regent's Clemency, tho' it had been sufficiently evidenced unto them.

The Castles of *Hambleton* and *Dresan* were delivered up, having nothing in them, but a little Household-stuff of King *James*'s V. in

in *Hambleton*: The same fear drove the Queen into *England*, whether in regard, she thought no place in that part of *Scotland* secure enough, or that she would not adventure to rely upon the Faith of *John Maxwell* of *Hems*. All other affairs being settled at Home for a time by the Regent, a Parliament was inducted at *Edinburgh*, which was strongly opposed by the adverse Faction; and the better to hinder it, Rumours were spread abroad of *French* Forces coming over, under the the Command of Mr. *Martigues*, which did not much affright the Regent, knowing he had *England* safe at his Back. *Argile* with about 600 Horse came to *Glasgow*, and there conferred with the *Hambletons*, how they might hinder this meeting of Parliament; but not being able to do it, every one went Home. *Huntley* gathered about 1000 Foot, with purpose to observe the Day of meeting, and came to *Perth*, where finding the Fields upon *Tay*, all beset by *William Ryven*, and the Neighbouring Noblemen that stood firm; He went back without doing any thing. At the same time Letters were procured from the Queen of *England* by the adverse Faction, to delay the meeting; wherein she desired that they would not proceed too hastily in Judgment against the Rebels, till she was better acquainted with the
mat-

matter, and to tell them she could not passe by the Danger of the Queen her Neighbour and Kinswoman, who had Com-
 plained of great Injuries offered to her by her Subjects: Tho' the matter was but slight, yet the adverse Party laid great stress upon the obtaining of it, as well, in hopes to dishearten the Loyal party by this delay, as in the mean time to get a Convention of their own, called in the Queens Name; but the Regent was firmly resolved to keep the Day, tho' the other Party had all the united Forces they could possibly muster up. In this meeting it was strongly Debated, whether all that had taken Arms against the King, and not begged Pardon, should without distinction be adjudged Guilty of High Treason, and their Goods Confiscated. But *William Maitland*, who underhand favoured the Rebels, had prevailed, that only a few should be Punisht as a Terror to the rest, and hopes of Mercy given to those that should Repent themselves and come over; which thing gave greater Incouragement to the Rebels, and served to make them but more Insolent, seeing their Punishment deferred, and having hopes both in the Queen of *England*, and their Partizans in *France*, and having also no small Confidence in their own Strength and Number.

In the mean time, the Regent regarding nothing but the publick Tranquility, having lightly fined some of those that were nearest, received them again into Favour; banisht the Earl of *Rothes*, at the great instance of his Friends but for three Years, and solicited others by their Intimadoes to come in; but finding many of them Obstinate, and thirsting after revenge, he Raised an Army, and Marcht into *Aunandale*, *Nidsdale*, and the lower *Galloway*, where he took some Castles, and put Garisons into them, and pulled down others, whose Lords were more troublesome; and had in a short time Subdued the whole Country, had not the Queen of *Englands* Letters given stop to his proceedings; for she had been perswaded by the exiles, that great injuries were done to the Queen of *Scots*, whom her own Subjects had laid an unjust Odium upon, to the Reproach of the Royall Character, and the Diminution of Majesty it self, to be thus exposed to the displeasure of Seditious Men; that this injurious arrogance struck but at one, but might in Consequence and example reach to all, that therefore timely Care should be taken to prevent this Infection of driving out of Kings, from spreading any farther: These kind of Arguments stirred up the Queen of *England*, to Write to the Regent,

to

to send over some fitting Persons to her, that might acquaint her with the whole Carriage of the Business, and to answer in his behalf, to such matters as should be objected against him in his absence. This was a difficult point to the Regent, to have a matter re-examinen and brought into question, before a Forreign Prince, that had been already adjudged at Home; and where there was a Prepossession too by the adverse Party; it seemed both Dishonourable and Dangerous, yet, as the Case stood with him, he was forced to yield to it; for he had for his Enemy abroad, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, Uncle to the Queen, that Governed the Court of *France*; and at home the much Superiour part of the Nobility, engaged on the Queens's side; that if he should Offend the Queen of *England* too, he would have no Force left to Support himself withall. When therefore it was resolved that Ambassadors should be sent, but who those should be, could not be well agreed on; the great ones refusing that Imploy, the Regent resolved to go himself in Person, and made Choice of those he thought fittest to accompany him; among others he pitched upon *William Maitland*, who was very unwilling to go; but the Regent knowing him to be Factiously inclined, and one that favoured the Queen's Party;

ty, would not leave him behind, but drew him on with Promises and Rewards; the rest went readily along, *viz.* *James Douglas*, *Patrick Lindsey* of the first Order, the Bishop of *Orcades*, and Abbot of *Dunfermling* for the Clergy: Lawyers of the College of *Tudges*, *James Margill* and *Henry Balnave*; to these he added *George Bochanau*. Amidst these difficulties, in which he seemed surrounded, two things gave no small Ease to his distracted Thoughts; the Justice of his Cause, and the Queen of *Englands* last Letters, wherein she assured him, that if the Crimes objected against the Queen of *Scots* were true, she would conclude her utterly unworthy to Reign. The Regent by these Letters, being more enlightened in his hopes, set forward on his Journey, accompanied with 100 Horse, altho' he found by undeniable Circumstances, that the Earl of *Westmoreland*, by the Duke of *Norfolks* Command, had laid wait to intrap him, before he could reach *Tork*: The fourth of *October* he made his Entry into *Tork*, being the place appointed for the Commissioners to meet in. The same Day and almost at the same Hour came also *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*. The reason of lying in Ambush for the Regent was, that the Duke was then in private Treaty about Marrying the Queen, therefore the better

to

to take away the suspicion of the King's Murder, and to Facilitate the Queen's return home; she had resolved to have the Regent Killed, and to stifle those Letters he had taken, that she had formerly writ to *Bothwell*, that laid the whole matter open; but in regard, the business could not well be done, by reason of the Dukes being so nigh, but that so wicked an Enterprize must needs take Air; the Plot was deferred to another time. To the Duke of *Norfolk* were joined, as Commissioners to hear this Controversy betwixt the *Scots*, the Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, the latter an impartial Man, the other, as was generally thought, enclining to *Howards's* Party: After a few Days came Commissioners on the *Scotch* Queen's part, to complain of the ill usage of her Subjects, and to require the Queen of *Englands* help, for her return home without any longer dispute. These having had private Audience by the Regent and Earls, protesting in the first place, that they came not before them as Judges that had any right of Determination; Insisted much on the Injuries the Queen had suffered from her Subjects; and therefore besought the Queen of *England*, either to persuade them to receive their Prince again, or in Case of refusal, that she would

would Furnish her with an Army, that might Reduce them into Obedience.

The Regent being heard a little after, desired that the matter might be fairly Debated before indifferent Judges, affirming; that nothing had been done by the King's Party, but according to Right and Law; and their Ancient Constitutions; and that too in a full Parliament, and that he with a few more could not any wise rescind what was done in a Publick Assembly, and Ordained by all the States of the Kingdom; even some of those that were now accusers Subscribing it. But when the *English* Commons declared themselves unsatisfied with those things, which the *Scots* had decreed among themselves at home, and which were opened before them here; unless they might also be made acquainted with the Causes that induced the *Scotch* Nobility to so severe a proceeding against their Queen; The Regent, who did all he could to avoid that Point, lest he should be brought to accuse his Queen and Sister, and to lay open her wicked Practices before Strangers; that would not be unwilling to hear of them, refused to do it; unless the Queen of *England* would Promise on her part, that if it were fully made out, that the King of *Scots* was Murdered by his Wife; she would Espouse the Young King's Cause; and

take him into her Protection. The *English* Commissioners told him they were Impower'd only to hear what could be said on both sides, and to give their Queen an account of the whole matter. The Regent desired them again to make some promise in the business on their Queen's Behalf, or else to obtain from her a full Authority, to hear and determine in the Case; which if they did, he frankly undertook on the other side, that if he did not plainly shew that the King was Murdered by the consent and privity of his Wife, he would not refuse to undergo any Penalty, that the most flagitious Crime deserved: The Commons wrote about these matters to the Queen, who returned answer, that the *Scots* on the King's Part, should send one or more of their number to the Court, that might give her a fuller information of the matter, and when that was done, she could better tell what was her Part to do. The Regent sent *William Marland*, who every Day grew more suspected by him, and *James Margile*, not so much an Assistant in the transacting publick Business, as to have an Eye upon the others management. The Regent had occasion enough to have him in suspicion before his coming out, both by Words and Accounts, but especially by some Letters that were intercepted, wherein he indeavoured to persuade

the Queen how Serviceable he could be to her, by the Example of the Lyon in the Fable, that being Catcht in the Toyle was set at liberty by a Company of Poor Mice; and after his coming to *York*, there scarcely past a Night wherein he did not Cabal with the Commons of the adverse Party; but that which rendered his Treachery yet more Perspicuous, was his going abroad with the Duke of *Norfolk*, under pretence of Hunting, where after several Discourses it was agreed betwixt them, to carry on the Business slowly, and to renew it again by starts; but so as to compleat nothing; and yet not to let the matter quite fall; by which means the Regent would either go his way without doing the Business he came for, or some disturbances at home would force him to depart; and that in time some other remedies would emerge: For the Duke was then in thoughts of a Civil War, whereby he hoped to take away one of the Queens and Marry the other. This *Maitland* having acquainted *Lesly* the Bishop of *Rosse* with, who was privy to all the Queens Secrets; he wrote to her, how the Duke desired she should Write back to the Court; and what Course was properest for her to take, and not to despond by the slowness of proceedings. These Letters when the Queen had read, were it seems carelessly thrown about, and

came at last to the Regents Hands, and did this good, that by them he found out the Contrivance of his Enemies: As for *Maitland*, he had found out his Treacheries long before; when the *Delegates*, we spoke of, came to *London* to the Queen; 'twas thought convenient, both by herself and Council, that the Regent should be present likewise at the Debating of the business; Having therefore dispatcht some of his Retinue home, he went himself to *London*; but there he met with the same difficulties, which he found at *Tork*, whilst he refused to raise an accusation against the Queen and Sister, unless the Queen upon discovery of the Fact, would take the *Scots* King's Party into Favour; which if she would engage to do, they would not in the least delay the bringing in their Charge, on the same conditions they had offered before to the Commons at *Tork*.

Whilst these things are transacting at *London*, the Queen of *Scots*, by *James Belfore* endeavours to raise Disturbances at home; for the more effectual doing wherof, she not only wrote to the Exiles, and those next Neighbours to *Bothwell*, to infest their Adversaries by all Hostilities imaginable, but did also create Vicegerents thro' out the Kingdom, and Arm'd them with Regal Authority, caused rumours to be spread a-
broad,

broad, that the Regent and the chief of the Associates were clapt up in the *Tower* at *London*; but when that piece of Falshood did not long continue, she then gave out, that the Regent designed to make *Scotland* a Province unto *England*, and to that purpose had promised to deliver up the Castles of greatest Strength, and the King himself as Hostage: Which she did, as was believed, because having promis'd the same her self to the *English*; and her Offer being reject-ed, as not in her Power to make good, she would bring an Odium upon the Regent, and render him and his Party in the common Esteem, as despicable as her self and hers was.

When the Regent saw himself surrounded with these Difficulties, he design'd, as soon as he could get his Business dispatcht, to look homewards: The *English* therefore often and earnestly urging him to unfold the Reasons of the Proceedings of Affairs in *Scotland*, without which they were not able to determine any thing; and being also very desirous to satisfy the Queen of *England*, whom he might not offend without great Hazard to the Cause he had took in hand, and to return home, that he might extinguish the Flames of Civil War that were kindling in his absence, which he could not do, unless he had the Queen of *England*

of his side, or at least-wise not against him; having protested before her Council, that it was not of his own accord, but by the Importunity of his Enemies, that he was infort't to accuse his Queen and Sister before Strangers of a most nefarious Act: And as he should do it, not out of desire to criminate upon her, but a Necessity to clear himself, and that he should be unwillingly drawn to discover those things that he wist from his Heart might, if possible, be buried in everlasting Oblivion; the Odium whereof, if there was any, ought to turn upon those that put it out of his Power to make use of that ingenious Disposition that led him to a willing Obedience to good Princes, and a great Unwillingness to speak ill of bad ones: One thing he desired, that those, who had drawn him into this Contest so much against his Will, might be present, and hear the Crimes objected; and if any thing of Falshood were alledged, they might clear it before the Council, and that himself would make use of their Testimonies, even in Matters of the greatest Weight; which, when they of the Queen's Party, that had little Confidence in their own Cause, refused; and only persisted in their Request of having their Queen restored, who was driven away by Force and Arms; a Day was set for the Regent to shew Causes, why

why the Avengers of the King's Murder (for he was then in *France*) took up Arms, and set aside their Queen from the Administration of the Kingdom, and did those other things which were transacted at that time: Where when their Method of proceeding was laid open, and the Testimonies of those that were guilty of the horrid Fact committed upon the King, which they confess'd before their Deaths, produced, and the Acts of Parliament which many of the Regent's Accusers had subscribed to; at last the Silver Cabinet was brought out, which the Queen had receiv'd from *Francis* her former Husband, and given to *Bothwell*, wherein were Letters written in *French* by the Queen's own Hand to *Bothwell*, a *French* Poem, not inelegantly writ; all which were full of her ungovernable Passion to *Bothwell*, the Consult and Manner of the King's Death; and after the Murder, the Contrivance of her Ravishment; as also 3 Matrimonial Contracts with him; the first before the Parricide, written with the Queen's own Hand, wherein by way of Contract she promises him, as soon as ever she is at her own dispose, to marry him: The second before his Divorce with his former Wife, and witness'd by *Huntley*: The third was just upon the Marriage done in publick. These things being expos'd to

publick View, and read in Council, laid the whole Fact so open, that there remained no doubt of who was Author of it.

Tho' the Queen of *England* was well enough satisfied with these Proofs, yet she waver'd still in her Mind; there was on the other side Emulation, and a mutual Hatred betwixt the two Queens: There was also that Heinousness of Crime, and Clearness of Proof, that she lookt upon the *Scotch* Queen, as unworthy of any Assistance; her Mind inclinable to Justice, in the first place, was yet moved with the Remembrance of her former Fortunes, which she could not think upon without Compassion; the Greatness too of her Character made no small Impression upon her, besides her own Dread, lest the Example of driving out of Kings, should make a Step into the Neighbouring Kingdoms: Nor was she without some Apprehensions of *France*; there having never been any solid Friendship betwixt those People; and the *French* Ambassador was then very solicitous in behalf of the banisht Queen; for the *Spanish* Agent, altho' he was intreated to interpose in his King's Name in Favour of her, was so affrighted with the Foulness of her Crimes, that he quite forbore to interest himself in her Concern. The Queen of *England* therefore, that she might have Recourse to se-

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cond Thought, in case Matters went otherwise in *France*, and have it still in her hands to gratify them upon Occasion, took the middle way in the delivering her Opinion; confessing, That she saw nothing at the present that could any ways impeach the Proceedings in *Scotland*, but that they seem'd to have been carried on rightly and orderly enough; and, as if she had a Mind to delay her giving Judgment 'till a further time, she desir'd the Regent, that in regard he might be called home by Occasion of Domestick Troubles, he would leave some Body behind him, that if any Fault should happen to be objected to him in his absence might Answer it: The Regent perceiv'ing the Business was delay'd, that the Queen might give Sentence in the Case, to her own best Advantage, and accordingly as Matters should fall out abroad; left no Stone unturn'd, that might give the least Colour of Delay in the determining the Cause: If his Enemies had any thing to say against him, it was but reasonable for Men that had been so long prepared with Accusations, to exhibit them, and not to take an Opportunity of calumniating a Man behind his Back, when they refused to charge him Face to Face: He was not ignorant of the Reports, which his Enemies had caused to be spread against him, not only among
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the Common People, but what they had openly affirmed to some of the Council, and what to the *French* Ambassador: He does earnestly request the Council, That they would order them, to produce in publick what they whispered so in private, and that for his part he was not so fond of returning Home, but that he should be ready to clear himself before them, tho' it were to his own private Damage, and the publick Detriment. At last the Exil'd Queen's Procurators being sent for, they were desired if they had any thing against the Regent, or any of his Company, that might bring them under a Suspicion of the King's Murder, they would then produce it: Who answer'd, That they had nothing against them for the present; but they should proceed to give their Accusations, when they received their Queen's Orders for it. To which the Regent answered, That he should be always ready to give an account of any thing he had done, nor would he decline any Place or Time; but in the meantime, while the Queen was preparing of her Charge, he desired of all his Accusers there present, that if any of them had any thing against him, they would now divulge it; That this was much more Just and Honourable to exhibit it before such an Illustrious Assembly, than to traduce him in private

private Cabals behind his Back. When they had for some time refus'd that too, they were at last cry'd out on by all the Council, and Exceptions taken against them, not without some Reproach to their Proceedings, every one confessing, that in their own private Opinions, there was no Colour of accusing either *Murray*, or any of his Company, of the King's Murder. So that after a great deal of wrangling between the Parties, the Council broke up; nor was there after that any mention made of accusing the Regent, or any of his Associates. Amidst these Delays in *England* about the Publick Cause, many things are attempted by those of the Queen's Party both at home and abroad, tho' without Success. *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent some Years before, being wearied with Home Concerns, Matters not succeeding according to his mind, was gone over into *France*; where with a small Retinue, sequestering himself from publick Business, he lay privately with only 2 Servants with him: But the *Scotch* Queen escaping out of Prison, and overthrown in Battle, and driven into *England*, the *French* not being able to draw over *Murray* to their Party in his Return thro' *France*, when he was sent for home, thought it their best way, to set up *Hamilton* his old Antagonist against him in his absence:

absence: Him therefore they drew out of his Retirement, and having given him a little Proportion of Money, and a large one of Promises, in his Passage thro' *England* home, he was set on by his Friends there, Having the *Scotch* Queen's Party of his side, and the Queen of *England* not against him, to try, if he could prevail with her, to use her Authority with *Murray*, for the perswading him to resign up the Regency to him, which Place was his due by the Laws and Usages of most Countries, and especially by the Custom of *Scotland*, as being first Prince of the Blood, and next to their Crown: Nor was it needful for Proof hereof, to deduce a long Series of Annals or Records, having Presidents enough of later Times, where Governours of the next a-Kin have been appointed unto Princes, not yet qualify'd to administer themselves.

Thus upon the Death of *Robert* the Third (his Son *James* the First being then in *England*) the Government was put into the hands of his Uncle *Robert*, to whom succeeded his Son *Murdac*: And, within Memory, *John* Duke of *Albany* govern'd in the Minority of *James* the Fifth, and this very *Hamilton*, when *Mary* the now Queen was very unfit either for the Kingdom or Husband, presided in the Government, not many Years ago. That he was not now excluded

excluded by Lawful Suffrage, but rebelliously by Force and Arms; and which was harder yet, a Bastard preferred to his more Lawful Title. To which if he might be restored, he question'd not in a short time to quiet all Domestick Troubles, and without Force or Tumult to place the Queen upon her Throne again. To which Reply was made by the King's Delegates, That *Hamilton* demanded a thing which was not only repugnant to the Laws and Constitutions of their Ancestors, but setting those aside, what was in it self very unjust; for our Ancestors, by reason of the Murders that happen'd in the Kindred of the Royal Line, after almost 1300 Years, thought fit to change the Method in creating of their Kings; for whereas in the ancient Times of King *Fergus* the first, upon the Death of a King, a Person was chose out of the same Line, tho' not always nearest a-kin, yet one who was esteem'd most fit to manage the Business of the Kingdom, and by General Suffrages created King; yet *Kenneth* the 3d, that he might remove all secret Practices used by Kings against their near Relations, and the bloody Emulations that arose among the Royal Family, establish that Method of succeeding to the Crown by Proximity of Blood, which is still in force among us; but when those, that were well experienced

perienced in the Revolution of Affairs, foresaw that in the various Turns of Fortune, it could scarce otherwise happen; but that the chief Magistracy would sometimes devolve upon Children, or those that were unfit to manage it; they ordered, that in such Emergencies, some Person of Wealth and Parts superiour to the rest, should be elected to the Administration. And this Course of proceeding our Ancestors have follow'd for almost 600 Years, and by this means preserv'd the Crown in Safety to Posterity: Thus upon the Death of *Robert Bruce*, Regents were appointed by the usual Suffrage to succeed in the Administration: To wit, *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, *Donald* Earl of *Marre*, *Andrew Murray*, *John Randolph*, and *Robert Stuart*: Sometimes a single Person, sometimes more were by Parliament invested in this Place: Thus *Alexander Levislan*, having no relation to the Royal Line, nor of the first Rank and Quality, but meerly a Knight, and more illustrious in Wisdom than Blood, was appointed Governour unto *James* the 2d; nor was this occasion'd by reason of any want of fit Persons in the Royal Line; for there was at the same time *John Kennedy* the chief of his Family, and Grandson to the Sister of King *James* the First, famous as well for Wisdom as Integrity of Life: There were
also

also his Uncles *James Kennedy* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* second to none in the Kingdom for Virtuous accomplishments; and his Brother *Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, the late King's Natural Son. Besides all these, the Earl of *Douglas*, that far surpassed the rest, and did almost equal the King himself in Power; yet none of these complain'd of any injustice done them by the States.

And not long after this, four Persons at once were appointed Governours to King *James III.* and all of those, not upon any account of Relation, but meerly by Election of the States. And of late *John Duke* of *Albany* was sent for out of *France* by the Nobility, to manage the affairs of State in the Minority of *James V.* and Confirmed in the Place by an Ordinance of State. Nor was that Employment put upon him by reason of Proximity, for he had then an elder Brother *Alexander*, tho' perhaps inferior to him in Parts and Vertue; yet as much Superiour to *James Hamilton*, that for sometime made interest for the Place. But during the absence of *James I.* the Uncle *Robert* was preferred to the Administration: But by what Law? Was it by Proximity? No! Was it by the Election of the People? Nor that neither: How then? When *Robert III.* was unable either in Mind or Body, to undergo the Office of

a King; He Substituted his Brother *Robert* to Govern in his room, and recommended his Children unto him: The eldest of which, *David*, he Starved to Death, and no better a Fate had fallen on *James*, if he had not saved his Life by Flight: But he now being fixt in the Possession of an Arbitrary Rule; his Brother Dying of Grief, kept it without Authority of the States, or assent of the People, and handed it over to his Son *Mordac*: But what Opinion the Deceased King *Robert* had of his Brother, cannot much be doubted, for him, that he had curst so bitterly upon his Death Bed, as the Murderer of his Son; had he been alive and in Health, he would scarce have left his Children in Tuition of. He reminds us also of the time, that himself presided after the Death of *James V.* insinuating, as if any thing were lawfully Acted by him in that time; when Cardinal *Beton* endeavoured by Fraud to possess himself of the Regency, he relying more upon the Hatred, which all good Men had of *Beton*, than the good Affection of the People towards himself, slipt into the Place; Ruled with great Cruelty and Avarice, and not many Years after sould both his ill-got Office, and his Queen to boot. There, the People shewed their liking of him, when they pteferred the Government of

a Woman, and a Stranger, to the Slavery, which he so cruelly inflicted on them: Now I think you see *Hamiltons* Petition is not only contrary to the Laws of our Country, and Constitution of our Ancestors; but so contrary, that for want of Arguments, he is forced to Fly to Falshoods to support it: But if any such custome ever was, no Man I think could Judge it other than highly Injurious; for what could be more Unjust, then to trust him with the Innocent and tender Age of a Child, that must continually be expecting or wishing for his Death? whose universal Family has ever been, and will be still at deadly Feuds with that of his present Majesty: What defence would there be in proximity of Blood against the old Grudge, and insatiable Avarice and the furious impulse of a so lately tasted Arbitrary Rule? *Laodice*, Queen of *Cappadocia*, is reported to have Slain her Children, as they severally grew up, and to purchase a little longer Rule to her self by the Death of her own Sons. When a Mother shall not stick to pay the use of a little time with the Blood of her own Children; what shall we think those Ancient and Inveterate Enemies, whose Cruelty is kindled by their Avarice, would dare, or rather what they would not dare to do against a Child, that gives the only check

to their hopes of an indubitable Succession to the Crown.

If any think this president Antiquated or Obscure, or to be too far fetcht; I shall instance some of those famous ones, of a nearer distance too; for who is so Ignorant of Modern Transactions, as not to know that *Galeace Sforza*, tho' he was at Age and Married, and the Kinsman of a mighty King, was yet Murdered by his Uncle *Lodwick*? Or who is ignorant of the Calamities that ensued upon that Parricide? the finest Country of *Italy* reduced almost to utter Ruine; the Family of *Sforza*, that was the Mother of so many brave Men, extinguisht; the sweet and pleasant Fields upon the *Po*, laid wast by Forreigners, whose Avarice and Cruelty nothing could escape: What Man that's Born in *Britain*, has not heard of the barbarous Cruelty of King *Richard III.* of *England* to his Brother's Sons? Or with how much Blood that Parricide was attoned? When these Men, that were otherwise of Parts enough, did not fear to Act these Cruelties upon their near Relations for the sake of a Crown; what shall we expect of him, whose fickle Humour all the Subjects know, and whose unskilfulness in Government, we have already but too dearly felt? Whose Family, not content with the Death of this King's
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Great Grand-Father, was perpetually Conspiring against his Grand-father by the Mothers side, and when they could not compass the Death of his Grand-father, by the Fathers, they drove him out of the Kingdom, deprived of all he had, and exposed his Father, as a victim to the Slaughter ; and not being able to possess themselves of his Mother and her Kingdom, they sold th m both to Strangers ; and now that Providence has delivered it from that Servitude, have brought it into the Straits, it is at present in.

Upon hearing this, the Queen declared by her Council unto *Hamilton*, that his Petition was unjust, and that he must hope for no assistance from her ; and being farther desired by the King's Delegates, not to dismiss *Hamilton*, 'till they had also leave to go, in regard he would be but practising of mischief in their absence : This she thought reasonable, and therefore sent him her Orders not to go away before that time.

The Exiled Queen, faild not in the meantime to encourage her Party with hopes of her suddain return among them ; for Letters to that purpose were intercepted, that advised 'em to possess themselves of all the strong places they could get, and to carry on the War notwithstanding any

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Truce; for, that upon a Capitulation, all former Transgressions would be overlookt, and if it came to open Wars, the more strong Holdsthey had in their Hands, the readier they should be to infest the Enemy.

Now, when the Regent, after all business in *England* was over, had got leave to go home; Letters of the Exiled Queen were brought out of *Scotland*, that had been lately intercepted, which complain'd of her being Treated by the Queen of *England* otherwise than at first she did expect, and different from the Promises she made her; which was occasioned by the Artifice of some at Court, that hindred her being sent back with an Army, which she did affirm the Queen had Promised her: But however she expected every Day from other Hands a good issue of the Business, (for the Treaty of her Marriage with *Howard* was now hot on foot) that therefore they should not at all despond, but take Courage and hinder the Regents return into *Scotland* by all the ways they could.

The Publishing of these Letters wrought various Effects upon the Minds of the People: The Queen of *England* took it ill to be reproacht with breach of Faith, and that the Truce, which she was author of, should not be punctually kept; this nettled her so, that she

she began to cool in her former Favour to
 the Exiled Queen, and was now more in-
 clinable to Justice. The *English*, that
 wisht the Regent well, were fearful, lest
 his Enemies should do him some Mischief
 in his Journey home; the Countries he
 must pass through, being for the most part
 filled with Papists and Robbers, that In-
 habited the Borders, and all full of hopes
 of Novelties; and 'twas plain they were
 Solicited to intercept the Regent; the *Eng-
 lish* Courtiers did therefore generously of-
 fer their help to Conduct him in his Jour-
 ney; but he was contented with his own
 Attendance, and about the 13th. of *Janua-
 ry* set forwards; but the Queen of *England*
 thinking it stood with her Honour, that he
 should go back in safety home; had wrote
 on purpose to the Governours of the Borders
 to take care that when he came into any
 suspicious Place, no foul Play should be of-
 fered to him; which was as Carefully ob-
 served, for strong Guards of Horse and Foot,
 were placed upon the Road, that conducted
 him safe to *Berwick*; from whence the next
 Day, which was the 13th. of *Januray*, with
 great Joy and Concourse of his Friends
 that came to meet him, he was brought in
 Tryumphant manner to *Edinburgh*. His
 Enemies at first would scarce believe the
 News of his Arrival, by reason of the false

Rumours that were spread of his being kept Prisoner in the Tower of *London* : But when the certainty of his coming was understood, those that in his absence were turned Highway Men, and had beset the Roads for taking Passengers, left their Prisoners and Booty behind, and slunk fearfully away : So that now, as when a violent Storm is past, a pleasant Calm appeared ; a few Days after, the Nobles of the King's Party met at *Sterling*, where an account was given of what had past in *England*, and approved with great applause.

About that time came also home *James Hamilton*, the chief of that Name, and was by the *Scotch* Queen, in an unheard of Arrogance, Adopted her Father, and Created Viceroy of the Kingdom ; who issued out his Edicts, to forbid the Subjects to give Obedience to any Persons that were not Substituted by him ; which had but small Effect ; for the King's Party advancing Money for the raising of Horse, resolved to Fight it out, and came at a set Day to *Glasgow* ; the other Party being at *Hamblerton* ; an Agreement was at last proposed by the intermediation of Friends, in pursuance whereof, *Hamilton* was Commanded to come to *Glasgow*, and acknowledge the King for his Supreme Lord : That being over, the rest would quickly be agreed ; but that

that being refused, 'twould be to no purpose for him to come. He, upon Consulting with his Friends, and finding his Party Weak, resolv'd to Temporize, and promised all things for the present, and when the King's Forces were dismiss'd, which was no little Check upon him, he might at better leisure consider what to do. When he came to *Glasgow*, a Day was appointed for himself and Friends to come and do their Allegiance to the King, and to be thereupon restored to their former Honours and Estates; and in the mean time to remain in Custody, or give sufficient Security out of the Neighbourhood: The same Agreement was made and Subscribed to, for all the rest that would come in upon the like Conditions, which were refused by *Argile* and *Huntley*, whether in picque, that *Hamilton* had undertook to conclude 'em without their Consent, or that they were encouraged by Private letters from the Exiled Queen to keep their Party up, and that she would shortly come among them with a mighty force: Which they gave the greater Credit to, in regard the Queen was not so close a Prisoner as Formerly; and Reports grew daily of her Marriage with *Howard*. *Hamilton* came to *Edinburgh* at the appointed Day, and there endeavours all he could to elude his Promises and spin

out the Time with Delays, 'till the other Heads of the Faction should come, and so have the whole Business transacted at once; and also, that they might find out what the Exil'd Queen would do; for these Reasons he desired the Matter might be adjourned over to the 10th of *May*.

To this manifest Election, answer was made, that it was in vain to wait for *Argile*, and *Huntley*, for that they were resolved to treat for themselves apart: And for the Queen, if she should disapprove of what was done, what would they do then? To which *Hamilton* answer'd ingeniously, tho' impolitically, as the Case stood, that he had submitted to those Conditions by Force and Fear of the Army then on foot, and that if he were at his own Liberty, he would not consent to those things that were done. So the Cheat being detected, the Regent commits *Hamilton* and *Maxwell* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The rest of the Consult was spent upon *Argile* and *Huntley*, to each of whom a day is appointed at St. *Andrews* to discuss their Business separately. *Argile* came first, whose Affair was not so difficult as the others, for he had forborn plundering both that and the last preceeding Year, and besides was near a-kin, and an old Friend and Acquaintance of the Regent's; they therefore only tender'd him an Oath, that he

he should thence forward become an Obedient Subject to the King, without any Fraud or Guile, and that if he failed hereafter of his Duty, besides the known Penalties of Law, he should own himself to be a Person ignominious, and detestable to all good Men; the rest, upon the same Oath taking, tho' upon different Accounts, were re-admitted into Favour. *Huntley's* Case was before his coming, variously debated in the Council, many urging in his Behalf for an Amnesty for past Transgressions. that it might prove of dangerous Consequence to the Publick, to proceed with the utmost Severities against a Man of his Power and Fortune; and 'twas therefore to bring Matters to a fair Composure without Recourse to Arms: That if he should be worsted in the plain Fields, he might fly into the Mountains, or beyond-Sea to some Foreign Prince, and bring a War upon the Nation. On the other side, 'twas answer'd, that he was not so formidable as was alledged, as appear'd in the Case of his Father, whose Interest and Power was not inferiour to his, and yet he was reduced, without any great Danger to the Publick: That if he should fly to the Mountains, those People would be easily dealt withall either to kill him, or deliver him up to the Regent; for Mercenary Faith changes with
a Man's

a Man's Fortune, follows the successful side and abandons the other ; and for Foreign Kings, a Man is valued according to his Wealth : Men in those Cases are aptest to consult their own Advantages, that if Men were inclinable to commiserate an Exile, yet there was now no fear of Foreign Powers, most of the Princes of *Europe* being at this time engaged in Wars, except the Queen of *England*, who was their fast Friend: That Impunity in his Case would rather be lookt upon, as proceeding from Fear than Clemency, and would but encourage Men to the like Attempts hereafter, and give at the same time a Despondency to the King's Party, when they shall see Rebellion acted with Impunity ; howsoever Matters went, it would not look just either in the King, or the Regent to give a Pardon, and by that means an Impunity to those, that had robb'd their innocent Neighbours of their Goods: For tho' Kings may pardon Trespases against themselves, yet it would be great Injustice to hinder their Subjects from their Remedies at Law against them. After several Arguments in this Nature, *Pro & Con*, 'twas carry'd at last against the Impunity, but by a few Voices ; and thereupon the Regent declared, that for Quietness sake, he was willing to pardon any private Injuries done either to the King or himself,

himself, but what concerned other Persons, he neither could nor would interpose his Authority in those Matters, but leave them fairly to the Laws; and that if *Huntley*, or those of his Party were willing to make any Offers of Satisfaction, he would use his best Endeavours to compromise the Matter by Mediation of Friends. The next Business that came into Debate was, whether a Pardon should be granted indefinitely to all that follow'd *Huntley*, or that their Cases should be sever'd and consider'd of a-part; the latter whereof was resolv'd upon in Council, with Power nevertheless to *Huntley*, to fine his own Domesticks at his Pleasure; but what he labour'd most for, which was to divert the Regent's coming into the Northern Parts, was positively deny'd him. This Business with *Huntley* at *St. Andrews* being past, the Regent with two Regiments of the Forces then in Pay, went first into *Aberdene*, thence to *Elgine*, and lastly to *Ennerness*, where the bord'ring Neighbours being commanded to appear, they all gave ready Obedience; some bringing in their Fines in ready Money, others offering Security: From *Huntley* and the principal of the *Clangs* he took Hostages, so that Matters being quieted in all the Northern Parts, being every where highly complemented in his Journey, by those of the better sort, he

he returned to *Perth*; where an Assembly of the Nobles was appointed to consider of some Letters, which *Robert Boyde* brought out of *England* to the Regent at *Elgine*, some of which were private, others publick; the private Letters came from some of the *English* Court touching *Howard's* Conspiracy, that it was so strongly and prudently fixt, that it could not possibly be prevented, no not if all *Britain* besides should unite their Forces to oppose it: His Friends therefore advised him not to hazard his Fortunes too far in the declining Concerns of others, but to look to himself, while Matters stood fair before him. For the better understanding whereof, we must turn a little aside to look into the State of *England*; for at that time the 2 Kingdoms were so linkt in Interest, that the Condition of the one cannot well be understood without opening the others too: The *Scots* having been some Years before deliver'd from the Servitude of *France* by the *English* Assistance, had subscribed to the Forms and Methods of the *English* Worship in Matters of Religion, which Alteration of things gave hopes of an universal Quiet here in *Britain*; War did then seem to threaten us from the Continent, by the Pope, and the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, to which purpose they had had several Consults; the Pope animating the
 Business

Business all he could: But the King's Power was so abated by Domestick Troubles, that each seem'd rather to wish a War than undertake it, besides, mutual Emulation of each others Greatness by the Accession of *England*, to whithersoever it should fall. These Considerations together with the unquiet Posture of Affairs at Home, kept them from looking over the Water; notwithstanding the Novelty of a young unmarried Woman's Reign, whom her Enemies affirmed to be illegitimately born to *Henry* the 8th; and that former Disputes concerning both the Crown and Religion of *England* were not so far extinct, but that some Sparks of Anger still remain'd in the Minds of Men, which was believ'd would shortly burst out into a Flame. Many Attempts being in the mean time made by the *English* Papists, but still without Success, and being often encouraged from abroad with Promises of Aid, tho' none was sent, yet they stood firm in their resolves, so that they rather seemed to want a Head than Power or Inclination to do it. The vulgar looking among the Nobles for a Man fit to undertake that Province, could not pitch upon one they durst Adventure to intrust their Lives and Fortunes with; most of the forward Men being either cut off in the Civil Wars, or turned over to the other side,

side; others grown old, and shaken both in Mind and Body, willing to accept of any reasonable Peace, steps in a Man more eminent than the rest, and likeliest to weather such a Storm, which was *Thomas Howard*, whose Wealth and Parts were not unequal to such an Undertaking: The Reasons that might seem to induce him to it, tho' in his Nature inclinable enough to Peace, were these; His Father, and Grandfather, and great Grandfather, tho' Men of great Renown in their times, yet were so tost in the uncertain Storms of Court, that their Actions met with Reproach instead of Glory; his Father suffer'd under an Impeachment for High Treason, two Queens of his Family likewise put to Death; Himself amidst these Streights being nobly educated, preserv'd his Family from Ruine; Whose Youthful time gave hopes of a singular Prudence, enricht in a few Years by the Death and Marriage of Wives, was become the greatest Man of Power in the Kingdom next the Royal Line. And tho' the rest of the Nobility seem'd to give him place, as well for his Wealth as Prudence, yet he had not yet much signalized himself in War, and in the late Controversies in Religion; tho' he inclined to Popery in his Heart, yet he carried himself with that Ambiguity amongst the contesting Parties, that each

each one thought they had him for their own. Thus stood Affairs when the Queen of *Scots* being overthrown in Battle by her Subjects, betook her self to *England*, and sent Letters to the Queen acquainting her with the Occasion of her coming ; who sent immediate Orders that she should stay at the Lord *Scroop's*, who was then Warden of the Marches, 'till her Business was heard before the Council : Now *Scroop's* Wife was Sister to *Howard*, and she underhand carried on the Business of the Queen's Marriage with *Howard*, who as Fortune would have it, was newly then a Widdower, having buried his third Wife ; and tho' the Matter was carried with all Secrefy among a few Persons, yet it began to take Air, and was so far advanced, that nothing was lookt for but a Civil War, many affirming that *Howard's* Party was become so great, that he would be able to effect his Work without much Opposition. In this Emergency the Noblemen of *Scotland* met at *Perth*, to hear the Demands of the 2 Queens ; for both had writ to the Publick Council of the Kingdom. The Queen of *England* offer'd three Proposals to their Choice, the first was plainly for the restoring the *Scotch* Queen to her former Place and Dignities ; If that were refus'd, then to have her associated with her Son in the supreme Authority, and
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all publick Business to be transacted in both their Names ; and the sole Administration of Affairs to rest in the Regent, 'till the King was 17 Years of Age ; the third was this, in case that both the other failed, that the Queen if she would be perswaded to it, might live quietly at Home, content with such Respects and Honours as might safely be allow'd her without intrenching upon the King's Authority : The last was readily condescended to, if the Queen could be brought to accept of it, the others were peremptorily denied ; the greater and more unblemisht part of the Nobility were positive in this, that they could determine nothing that might seem to diminish the King's Authority, especially since he had been so lawfully establisht ; the other Propositions would not only blast his Honour and Authority, but bring his innocent Life in hazard too ; unless they thought his Mother that had been so barbarous a Wife to her Husband, and so great an Enemy to her Son, was now upon the suddain become of a milder Disposition. Then they read the *Scots* Queens Letters, wherein she desired that Judges might be assigned to determine of her Marriage with *Bothwell*, and if it did appear to be against the Laws, that she might be divorced and set at her own Liberty from her Husband : These Letters

gave

gave great Offence to the King's Party, by writing her self Queen, and seeming to command them, as her Subjects: Nor did there want some in Council, that advis'd to lay them aside without an Answer. On the other side, those of the Queen's Faction seemed to wonder, why the Divorce from *Bothwell* should, the last Year, be so contend-
ed for, and now, that it was frankly offer'd, should be oppos'd by those that were formerly so active for it! If a word or two in the Letters happen'd to give Offence, that Fault were easily amended; some undertaking, that if the Matter might go forward, they would prevail with the Queen to send a Procurator in such words, as they should think convenient. They again answer'd on the other side, that they saw not so great an Occasion of posting on this Matter; That by Law 60 Days were to be given to *Bothwell*, who was then out of the Kingdom, to make his Appearance in, and a new Commission in the mean time obtained; neither ought the Queen to think that time long, considering the Matter had lain in Silence for two Years, and now Letters sent at last in such Terms, as would give an Obstruction to the Concurrence she expected: And if the Divorce was the only thing she aim'd at, nothing might be easilier accomplished; for it would be but her sending to

the King of *Denmark* to bring *Bothwell* to condign Punishment for murdering her Husband; he being gone, she might safely marry where she pleas'd; if she refus'd this, they must conclude her Desires of Divorce were not from her Heart; but that in case she should marry again, the Marriage with her next Husband might upon occasion be likewise call'd in Question; and what seem'd to increase the Suspicion, was her desiring of Judges to proceed in the Divorce, that had no right to determine in the Case; for what right has the Regent to bind those that are in Exile, or how can those that have no right of their own, subject it to the Determination of another? And therefore since the Matter lookt to be fraudulent, they were not to be over-hasty in their Judgment; but that the Queen of *England*, who could best obstruct or promote the Business, was first to be acquainted with it: A Nobleman of the Regent's Family is sent into *England*, to present the Acts of Council to the Queen of *England*: It may possibly seem strange to some, that the greater Matters were so easily past over, and that of the Divorce so much insisted on. The reason was this; *Howard* had privately treated a Match with the Queen of *Scots*, to accomplish which, he had an Accession of Force both at home and abroad; that it was now
the

the general Talk, that a Design was in hand of murdering the King of *Scots*, and the Queen of *England*, and taking Possession of both Kingdoms. Time and Place, and all things else so order'd and dispos'd, as if they seem'd provided against all Force that could oppose them, and this was the only thing that protracted the Marriage; and therefore the Conspirators did all they could to compass it; if they gain'd that Point, they made themselves secure, that all the rest would follow in Course. On the other hand, those that were for the King, laid all their Stress upon the delaying of the Marriage; That in the mean time many things that yet lay hid, might come to light, and the whole Conspiracy by Consent of both the Kings detected and suppress'd.

In this Conjunction of Affairs the Decrees of the *Scotch* Council were presented to the Queen, who seeming dissatisfy'd, as well with the Answer, as with the Messenger that brought them, not thinking him sufficiently qualify'd to manage a Business of that high Import in such a time as that was, desired a further and better Information of the Matter; whereupon the Nobles met again at *Sterling*, and returned this Answer, that as to the last of the mentioned Proposals it might be compromised upon Conditions; but the second could not without great In-

jury be admitted into Debate, in regard it would not only lessen, but quite destroy the King's Authority; for besides the great Danger of admitting an Associate to a Crown, what equal share of Government can a Boy have, newly got out of swadling Cloaths, with a Woman of full Age, crafty and experienced in the Vicissitudes of Fortune; who when she is once possess'd of part of the Administration, may either by the Strength of her Party (altho' she is removed by Publick Authority from the Government) endeavour to restore her self either by Threats, Prayers, or by the corrupt Enemies of the King, or by Foreign Force, which she is now busy in calling in, and so easily fix the whole Command upon her self? How shall she endure a Son to be her equal, that could not suffer it in a Husband? Nay further, if she should marry to some great Person, that would in all likelihood ill abide to have his Children wip't off from their Hopes of Succession by a Son in Law (of which there is a Treaty now on foot) and join his Power to hers, what Condition would this poor Child be in? Besides, if his Friends, as Mankind is unconstant, should prefer a present Reward to their future Hopes, and turn over to the stronger side, What remains but Ruine to the Child? In a word, what would not an

inraged

enraged Woman let loose to Arbitrary Power, instructed by the Councils of her Uncles, of known Cruelty to her Husband, and stimulated with Exile, attempt upon a Child naked of Friends, and exposed unto her Fury? What Usage must his Friends expect at her hands, whom she would look upon as her chief Enemies? What Condition would our Religion be in, when that furious Zeal should break out, which in the late Times was smothered up in Fear? How easily would the Child by the Death of his Friends, or his Friends by the Child's Death be brought to Ruine? For these Reasons they could not admit the Queen into a Partnership without a certain Ruine of the King; and therefore since the Case was thus, there needed no Enlargement upon the first Head. *Robert Petcarne*, a Man of no less Integrity than Wisdom, was sent with these Dispatches into *England*, and arrived at Court just upon Discovery of the Plot of murdering both the Kings, and seizing of their Crowns. So great was the Conspiracy, that the Queen of *England* for her own Preservation clapt *Howard* into the Tower of *London*, and not yet daring to bring the Exil'd Queen into question, was thinking of sending her by Sea to the Regent into *Scotland*; but the Storm abating, gave stop to that Resolve. In the mean time the ad-

verse Party growing unmeasurably strong, the Regent sent for *Maitland*, the chief Incendiary of the Plot, from *Perth*, to come to *Sterling* to him; who being conscious of his evil Practices, tho' he well enough knew the Regent's Moderation towards all his Friends, tho' in the greatest Faults, delay'd his coming all he could, and the better to find out if any thing were objected against him in Council, desired the Earl of *Athol* to go with him, that if there were Occasion he might intercede in his Behalf: But as he sat in Council at *Sterling*, *Thomas Crawford*, a Retainer to the Earl of *Lenox*, accused him of being privy to the King's Murder, whereupon he was commanded to be kept a-part in a Chamber in the Castle, and Messengers were likewise sent to apprehend *James Belfour*, who was absent, who were both proceeded against, as Authors of all the late disturbances, and guilty of the design both of taking off the late King, and as principal Heads of the Faction against his Son; but the Regent's Mildness, which had been often prejudicial to his Country, and fatal to himself, prevail'd upon him to incline to Mercy; for *Belfour*, tho' guilty of the late Conspiracy, was by the Suit of Friends admitted into Favour, and *Maitland* sent to be confin'd at *Edinburgh*, in an Inn not far from

from the Castle, in Custody of *Alexander Hume* and some other Soldiers: But *Kircadey* that was Governour of the Castle, counterfeited an Order in the Regent's Name to *Hume*, for the delivering him up to him, and took him into the Castle with him; at which the Nobility were highly incens'd, uncertain, whether well to lay the Blame upon *Kircadey*, or the Regent, that was not ignorant of this insolent Attempt; and the Business lookt, as if Blows would have follow'd upon it, but that his virtuous Life was always above Detraction, and himself of a Nature not hasty to recede from his good Opinion of those, he had once admitted to his Friendship.

He sent for *Kircadey* the next Day, who refus'd to come, which gave great Occasion of Suspicion to the King's Friends, and no less Incouragement to his Enemies; happening especially in this Juncture, when *Howard* and the Queen were lookt for every Day; they expected no less than that the Castle would be deliver'd up, the Regent forsaken, and the innocent King, with all his Adherents, expos'd to the merciless Fury of an enraged Enemy: But the Regent nothing surpriz'd at all this, went next Day into the Castle, sent for the Governour, talk't with him a little, and return'd without any Alteration in his Countenance, and

made an Expedition into *Mens* against the Robbers, and from thence, after a cold Reception at *Alexander Humes*, who was now turn'd over to the other side, went into *Ti. viote*, where being slenderly attended, and but a few Friends with him, the Robbers looking with Wonder upon his Constancy, and Virtue, came, upon Promise of the publick Faith, so frequently and in such Numbers, that they often equall'd and sometimes exceeded his Retinue: But for all this, he abated nothing of the Greatness of his Mind, but kept that Distance still, as suited with the Greatness of his Person and Character; and had in all Probability reduced them into Peace and Order, if some of the Neighbouring Nobility, Favourers of *Howard*, and that expected to be called to Arms, had not oppos'd him: His Friends coming in great Numbers at the appointed Day, he led them to the Robbers utmost Borders, tho' some of the Neighbourhood endeavour'd to divert him by interjecting of Dangers and Difficulties: Having marcht with his Army thro' *Lydsdale*, and the Places bordering upon the *Eske*, Hostages were not only sent by their Neighbourhood, which he accepted of, but also from the further distant Parts: Some few, whose Faults were more notorious, he took severer Courses with: This Expedition got him not only great Applause with the

the Vulgar, for the Security it brought them, but increas'd their Admiration too, to see a Man abandon'd of his Friends, and in great Streights and Hardships, do that in a few Days, which their mightiest Kings in times of greatest Tranquility, were often longer about, even with their utmost Power.

'Twas at this time he receiv'd an Account of the Discovery of the *English* Plot, *Howard's* Imprisonment, and the Queen being under a stricter Guard; and *Petcarne* having dispatcht his Business to his mind returned from his Embassy, and shew'd how much the Queen of *England* did approve of the Regent's Actions, that he had quieted the Borders, had taken one of the *English* Conspirators, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was fled into *Scotland*, and had him in Custody; that he persu'd the rest as Enemies and had upon all Occasions of his own accord assisted the Governour of *Berwick*; she promis'd to be mindful of these Kindnesses, and not to be wanting to him in the like Danger; but that he should make use at any time, of all the *English* Forces as his own: During this whole Expedition, the Regent had daily Intimations given him of a great Plot at Home, and in all their Intelligences the Governours of the Castle seem'd closely pinch'd; yet the Regent calling to mind his former Services, and not
being

being able to lay aside his old Custom, sent him ingenuously a Copy of all the Informations, who made such a cold Answer to the Crimes objected against him, as serv'd to render him the more suspected, challenging any Man to shew his Hand to any Subscription relating to the Plot. And now the Day appointed for the Examination of *Maitland's* Business drew on apace, who, as if he would out-face the Matter, seem'd very desirous to be brought to Tryal; in Confidence that their Forces in both Kingdoms were too big for any Legal Process. The Heads of the adverse Party had summon'd all their Force against that Day, *viz.* the *Hamiltons*, the *Gordons*, and *Argile*, in hopes that if they could give any Check to the Proceedings by raising of a Tumult, which was not hard to do, being superiour in Number, and having also the Advantage of the Place, they might bring the Matter to a Blow, and presently decide the Business that way. But the Regent, who came prepar'd to determine this Affair, and not by Force, being unwilling to adventure all at a throw, and by such a Contest narrow the supreme Authority too much, put off the Business 'till another time; and the next Day being the first of *January*, having sent the Earl of *Northumberland* Prisoner to *Lochevin* Castle, went himself to *Sterling*.

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The adverse Party finding themselves defeated of their Hopes, and that the Regents Authority still grew greater by the Accession of the *Englisb* favour to the interest he had with all good Men at home, being excited partly by emulation, and partly by the mighty promises the *Scotch* Queen gave them of Aid from *France* and *Spain*, set their rest upon destroying the Regent, whose Life gave check to all their Designs ; and did mutually Combine in a Confederasy to that intent and purpose: This Agreement was subscribed by the *Hamiltons*, and those that were Prisoners themselves, or had their Children Prisoners in *Edinburgh* Castle ; nor was the Governour thought to be unacquainted with the designs, which suspicion was confirmed, by what followed presently after. This Province was undertook by *James Hamilton*, Nephew to the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, who waited for a time and place to execute his Villany. About that time the Regent was put in hopes that *Dunbarton* Castle would be Surrendered to him upon Conditions ; whither he went, but returning back without Success, *Hamilton* being watchful upon all occasions, and failing of his design first at *Glasgow*, and then at *Sterling*, he pitcht upon *Linlithgoe*, as the properest place to do the Business in, the Town in a great measure depending upon the

the *Hamiltons*, and the Arch-bishop, his Uncle, having a House there, not far distant from where the Regent used to Lodge, lay close in that House where he designed to do the mischief. The Regent having formerly, and that very Morning notice given him of the intended Treachery, (when as the Informer for his farther assurance told him, that the Murderer was hid within three or four Houses of his Lodging, and that if he would send a little help along with him, he would bring him out of his lurking Hole, and open the whole Conspiracy unto him) for all this he would not change his former resolutions, more than that he determined to return back through the same Gate he came in at, and go another way, which he did not hold to neither ; whether in Contempt of such like Dangers, saying his Life was in God's Hands, to whom he was willing to resigne it, when ever he should please to call him ; or that the crowd of Horsemen had stopt his passage that way : When he was mounted, and thought to avoid the Danger, by passing hastily by the place suspected, being forced to move easily by reason of the Crowd ; the Murderer out of a Balcony covered with Cloath, as if designed for some other purpose, shot him into the Body with a Bullet a little below the Navel, and passing thro' by his Reins, Killed *George Dowg-*

Douglas's Horse, that was on the other side of him, and fled out at a Gap in the Garden-Wall, which he had pulled down for that purpose; being mounted on a swift Horse, that he had of *John Hamilton* Abbot of *Aberbroth*, to make his Escape on, after he had done the Fact, and came to *Hambleton*, where he was highly carest and honoured by his Friends and Kindred for his Glorious Act. Mean while every Man starting at the Report of the Gun; the Regent saying he was hurt, leapt off from his Horse without any apprehension of his Wound, and walkt a Foot into his Lodging: The Surgeons at first gave great hopes that the Wound was not Mortal, but his Pain increasing upon him, without any disturbance of Mind, he began to think of his Death; and when those that were by would often tell him, that his own mercifulness had brought him to his end, which Pardoned so many Malefactors, and among the rest this very Murderer that was Condemned for Treason; to which he mildly answered according to his usual Custome, All your importunity shall never make me Repent of my Clemency; and then taking order about the affairs of his Family, and recommending the young King to the Nobles, that stood by, giving not a harsh Word of any Man, Died afore Midnight, the 23^d. of January,

Henry, in the Year of our Lord 1571. His Death was much lamented by all good Men, but especially the common People, whom as a common Father they Loved while Living, and deplored when he was Dead; for besides his other noble Acts, he had within the compass of a Twelve Month, brought matters to that quietness throughout the Kingdom, that every Man was as safe upon the Road, as in his own House; and now the Envy abating, those that were offended with him while he Lived, could not forbear to praise him after he was Dead; they admired his Valour, which in the midst of War was ever inclinable to Peace, his quickness in dispatch of Business, which was with that success as if Divine Providence assisted at his undertakings; such Mercy in Punishing and uprightness in Judging, that as often as he could be spared from War, he spent the whole or greatest part of the Day in the Colledge of Justice, the veneration of whose presence kept the inferior sort from being run down with Calumnies, and Noise, and hindered the spinning out of suites in favour of the great ones. His House was a truly Religious House, not only free from all Debauchery, but also from impure Discourse. Every Day a Chapter was read out of the Bible at Dinner and Supper, and tho' he had a learned Man to Officiate, yet if

any

any were present, that were Famous for Learning, as such he often had, he would desire their Pains, and this not out of a vain Ambition, but with a desire of leading his Life according to that sacred Rule; nor was his liberality less than his other Vertues, for he gave much and often, and to many he gave privately with his own Hand, lest he should load their Modesty too much, by sending it openly to them with his Friends and Servants, he lived easily and freely, yet if any of those had done amiss, he would be sharper upon them than upon Strangers: By this Virtuous and Civil Course of Life, he endeared himself as well to Forreigners as his own Country Men, but especially to the *English*, to whom his Vertues were best known in all Occurrences.

Some Extracts out of the Scotch Queen's Letters.

TIS easy to guess at my Looks and Countenance, when I was parted from the Place where I had left my Heart, for I was then in truth as a Body without a Soul, which was the Reason that I spoke not one Word all Dinner time, nor durst any Body offer any Discourse to me.

Another a little after she had given her Husband the Poison, and went to him to Sterling, to see the effects of it, and talking of the attempt to Poison him. IN

IN fine, said she, he flattered me so Prettily, and with that Sweetness and Address, that you would have been amaz'd at it; he told me that he could never believe that I, that was his own Flesh and Blood could be capable of doing him any harm, that he knew well enough, that I had refused to consent to it, and that whosoever should attempt his Life, I would make it cost 'em dear, but that he neither did nor would suspect any Body for it, and that he must ever Love all those that I did. He would not suffer me by any means to be from about him, and prayed me to stay there all Night. I made as if I believed all he said to be true, and that I was much Concerned at it, but I excused my self from sitting up that Night, he told me he could not Sleep; I never saw him in better Humour, nor heard him speak with more Submission. And if experience had not taught me, that his Heart was made of Wax, but mine of Adamant, and could not be hurt by any stroke that pass not from your Hand, I could almost have had Compassion on him: But be not you afraid, I will Defend that Place 'till Death. Take you but care on your part not to suffer your self to be surprized by that Perfidious Woman, who will be no less wanting in her attempts on you upon the same account.

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I think they were both bred up in the same School; for him, (speaking of her Husband) he has always tears in readines, Complimenting all People, even those of the Meaner sort, and lays hold of all occasions to bring them to a Compassion for him. To Day his Father Bled both at his Nose and Mouth; guess you at what that presages. I have not seen him yet, for he keeps himself close shut up in his Chamber. The King will have me Feed him with my own Hands; but for that, believe no more than I do, of the matter.

You have here my first Days work; I shall dispatch to morrow. I give you an account of all, tho' may be not so necessary, but that you may make use of your own Judgment in picking out the best: Are not you like to laugh, when you consider how I manage my self, that I dissemble so well in telling truth sometimes? He has told me every thing under the Name of the Bishop and *Sutherland*; but all this while I have not told him one Word of what you had declared unto me, only by strength of Prayers and Flatteries, I prevail with him to have no distrust of me; and in Complaining of the Bishop, I have got all from him: The rest you know; we are unhappily linked with two perfidious Sorts of Persons, the Devell quit us of them; and may God Almighty join us for ever, that we may be the faithfullest Couple;

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that

that ever met together ; 'tis there I fix my Faith, and 'tis there I will Die ; excuse the Illness of my writing ; you must be forced to guess at one half it, but I know not how to help it, for I am not very well, yet notwithstanding have the greatest pleasure in the World in writing to you, while all People are a Sleep, and yet I cannot Sleep where I would, which is, my Dear-friend, within your Arms ; for whose good and quiet rest, I beseech God, &c. I am all undrest, and just going to Bed, and yet cannot forbear to scrawl over the rest of my Paper. Curse upon this Pocky Wretch ! (meaning her Husband) that gives me so much trouble ; for, but for him, I could find more Delightful matter to entertaine you with, he is not much hurt with it, tho' he has taken a good large Dose, he has almost killed me with his Breath, for it stinks worse than your Neighbours ; which is the reason that I come not over near him ; for I set my Chair at the Beds-feet.

After this comes a List of Proper Names, and other Misteries, between her and Bothwel, and other little Gayeties spoke to her by a Confident of their Amours, and so like herself, that no body can doubt she was the Author of them.

Another passage I cannot omit transcribing, which is this.

I had almost forgot, that the Lord *Leviston* whispered the Lady *Reresy* in the Ear, that she should Drink a Health to those I knew provided; I would Drink it too; and after Supper, as I was leaning upon him, and warming my self, 'tis a pretty business says he, the Visiting by such kind of People: They cannot be so glad at your Presence, as a certain Man is grieved for your absence, for he can never be pleased, 'till he sees you again: I askt him who that was, where-upon giving me a Hugg, he answered, 'tis one of those that have left you, you may easily guess who. I have workt two Hours upon this Bracelet to fasten the Key to it, that hangs there by two little strings; 'tis ill made, because I had but little time to do it in, but I will mend it; pray take care that no body see it that was here, for they may know it, because making it in hast, I was forced to work upon it before them all.

Presently after she comes to Words at length.

I come (says she) to our odious Enterprize; you oblige me to Dissemble to that degree, that I have even a Horrour for it; and you want but little of making me play the part of a Perfidious Woman: Remember this, that were it not for the desire I have to gratify you, I had rather Die than do a thing of this nature. In a Word he
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says,

says, he will not return with me, but upon condition, that I promise to restore him to my Table and my Bed, as heretofore, and that I will never forsake him any more; that provided I do this, he will do any thing I would have him, and come along with me, but he prayed me to stay for him, 'till after to morrow. He talkt very roughly at first, of treating with the *English*, and retiring himself as the bearer hereof can tell you; but he is now a little Mollified.

Afterwards she gives Bothwel an account of her artifice, in answering the King upon the instances he made her to admit of renouncing, and thereupon she cries out.

Alas! I never Cheated any Body, but I submit intirely to your will; teach me what I should do, and come what will, I am resolved to Obey you: Think with your self and see if we cannot hit upon a more secret way, as a Medicine; for he does both Phisick and Bath at *Crag Miller*; he cannot stir abroad for many Days. In fine, by what I can apprehend he is much alarmed, but notwithstanding gives credit to my Discourse, but that goes no farther, than the saying nothing to me; but howsoever if you would have me do it, I will find a way to get all from him. I cannot take delight in Cheating a Man that trusts me; but you may Command me in all things, so that you ought not
to

to think the worse of me for this, because I do it at your Importunity ; as for my own particular Revenge, I would never do such a thing to him.

(A few Lines after she adds.)

In short, 'tis most certain, that he is very much alarm'd at what you know, and in fear of his Life ; for the latter, when I give him two or three good Words, he takes Heart afresh, is merry, and lays aside his Fears. I have not seen him to Night, because I have been working at your Bracelet, which I could not finish by reason I could get no Wax, which is all that's wanting to it. I am yet afraid of some Mischief happening to him, and that it will be laid at your Door, if He should chance to be hurt.

Let me know if you will have it, or if you would have any Money ? When I must come back ? And how I must order myself in speaking ?

(Here she mixes some Discourses touching Loteington, the Earl of Argile, the King's Father, and the Hamiltons, which are not of much Consequence ; at last concludes thus.)

BURN this Letter, 'tis a dangerous one, and has nothing of good in it ; for I think of nothing but mischievous things.

things. Let me know if you are at *Edinburgh*, when you receive it; and be not offended at my Mistrust, but take it in good part, dear Friend, that to pleasure you I neither spare my Honour nor my Conscience, my Dignity, nor my Security, and give no Credit to the Interpretations, that Cheat of a Brother, and your Wife may make upon it; to whom you ought not to give any believe, to the Prejudice of your most faithful Friends: Take no notice of her, and remember that her feigned Tears ought not to be put in Ballance with the Faithful Labours, I endure to merit the Possession of her Place; to compass which I betray against my own Inclination, those that can any way be a Hindrance to it: God forgive me, and God grant you my only Friend, that good Fortune and Success which your humble and faithful Friend does wish you. I am in hopes to receive shortly from you another Recompence of my Labours. It is late, and yet I cannot forbear writing to you: Howsoever, I will finish my Letter, after I have given you my humble Service: Excuse my ill Writing, and read it over; excuse me that I writ in so much hast; for I had no Paper Yesterday, when I wrote what was in my Table-Book: Remember your good Friend, and write back often to her; love me, as I love you; Remember the Entertainment touching *Reresy*, about the *Engliss*,
about

about her Mother, about the Earl of *Argile*, about Earl *Bathwell*, and touching the Lodgings at *Edinburgh*.

(This Letter was writ but a few Weeks, perhaps but a few Days before the Death of that miserable King.

There is yet a third Letter which is much shorter, but much faller; I must let you have it all.)

I Have staid longer in this Place than I intended, I did it to get something out of him, which the Bearer will acquaint you with: 'Tis the fairest Occasion in the World to palliate and cover our Affairs. I have promis'd to bring him to Morrow; have a Care of the Business, if the thing please you. I must confess, Sir, that I have broken the Promise you made me make, for you had forbid me to write or send any more to you. I have not done this with purpose to offend you, and if you did but know what Fear I am at present in, you would not have so much Suspicion in your Heart; but yet I pardon your Suspicions, and take them in good part, as proceeding from the thing in the World I most desire, your Love, which my Services will shortly put you in Possession of; and for my part I will never cease to hope it: I pray be plain and open to me in the Matter, otherwise I shall suspect that thro' my ill Fortune there may be others
that

that Heaven favours more, tho' they have not the third part of that Fidelity and desire to please you, which I have: They do perhaps enjoy the first place in your Heart; in spite of me, that am as *Jafon's* second Mistress. Not that I mention this with any Design of comparing you to that Man, because of his Misfortune, nor would I any more compare my self to a Woman stript of all Compassion as she was; tho' you compell me in some measure to be like unto her in the things that concern you, and in those that can preserve you, unto her, that only has right to you; for I may well look upon you as being only mine, since I have gain'd you in loving you so faithfully and intirely as I have done, and will do all my Life at hazard of all the Troubles and Harms that can happen to me by it; for all those Ills that you have occasion'd me, do me but the Favour and Pleasure to remember the Place hard by. I do not ask you to perform your Promises from to Morrow, but that we may have a private Meeting hand to hand, and that you would give no credit to Suspitions before you have thoroughly examin'd all. For my own part, I desire nothing of God Almighty, but that you might know what is in my Heart, which is intirely yours, and that he would preserve you from Harm, at least for my Life, which is no longer dear unto me, than while it and I are pleasing unto you: I am going to Bed, and bid you good Night, let me know to morrow how you do, for I shall be uneasy till I know it. If the Bird escape out of the Cage, and that I remain as a Turtle without her Companion, I will in Solitude bewail your Absence, how short soever it be. This Letter may perhaps do what I cannot do my self, in case your Heart be not already a sleep for me, which I am much afraid of. I durst not write in the Presence of *Joseph*, of *Sebastian*, and *Jeachim*, who seem'd still to take leave when I began to write.

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